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PROCEEDINGS

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COUNT ZINZENDORF.

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(2)
PROCEEDINGS

AND

COLLECTIONS

(1)
OF THE

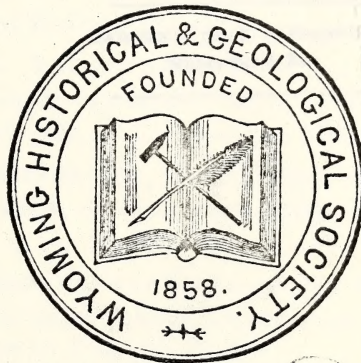
WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY,

FOR THE YEARS 1902-1903. v. 8

EDITED BY

REV. HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN, M. A.,

Corresponding Secretary and Librarian.



(3)
VOLUME VIII.
1903,

WILKES-BARRÉ, PA.

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY.

1904.

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VOLUME VIII

WILMINGTON, WY.

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY

1904

PRICE, \$1.00.

PROCEEDINGS

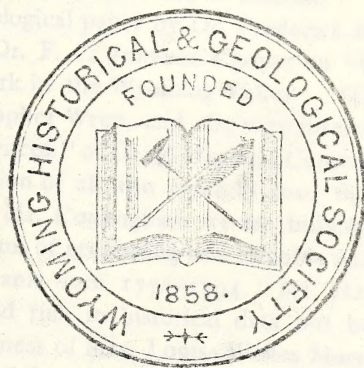
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COLLECTIONS

OF THE

WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY,

FOR THE YEARS 1902-1903.



VOLUME VIII.

WILKES-BARRÉ, PA.

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY.

1904.

PRICE, \$5.00.

PREFACE.

Owing to various hindrances beyond the control of the Publishing Committee, Volume VIII of the Proceedings and Collections of the Society, now presented to the members has been delayed fully six months. One of these hindrances, the increase of nearly fifty per cent in the cost of printing since the publication of Volumes VI and VII, emphasizes the suggestion of the Corresponding Secretary in his Annual Report (*infra*, p. 16), of the necessity for the creation of a "Publication Fund." The expense of this volume justifies the action of the Trustees of the Society in ordering it to cover the years 1902 and 1903. Volume IX will be issued early in 1905.

The Committee believe that the value of the Papers in this volume will compensate for the long patience which the members of the Society have had to exercise.

The Geological paper by Dr. Frederick B. Peck, of Lafayette College; Dr. F. C. Johnson's paper on "Count Zinzendorf," and his work in the Wyoming Valley; "The Stone Age," by Mr. Christopher Wren, and the very interesting Revolutionary "Reminiscences," of David Hayfield Conyngham, will command the admiration of all who carefully read them. To the grandchildren of Mr. Conyngham we are indebted for the privilege and the means of presenting this valuable addition to the history of Pennsylvania from 1774-1794. Mr. Hayden's annotations will be found rich in historical data not before made public. To the kindness of Mrs. Louisa Welles Murray we are indebted for the use of the "Plan of Asylum;" to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania for the illustrations of the Conyngham paper; to Mr. Edward Welles for the portraits of the Vicomte de Noailles, and Admiral Dupetit-Thouars, and to the Pennsylvania Historical Publishing Company for that of Count Zinzendorf.

REV. HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN,
MISS MYRA POLAND,
GEORGE FREDERICK CODDINGTON,
Publishing Committee.

Corresponding—Mrs. Margaret (Lacoe) White, Rock Island, Illinois.

Life members—Mr. Frederick Hillman, approved by Trustees, to date April 12, 1902; Lieut. Joseph Wright Graeme, U. S. N., approved by Trustees, to date September 4, 1902, the time of payment of Life membership fee. Mrs. Mae (Turner) Conyngham's name was transferred to the Life membership list, her fee having been paid.

On motion, the Secretary *pro tem.* was instructed to cast the ballot for the election of the above members, which was done.

The Corresponding Secretary then asked action on the amendments to the By-Laws proposed at the annual meeting and deferred to this meeting—all of which, on motion of Rev. Dr. Jones, were unanimously adopted. (See minutes of February 11, 1902.)

Rev. Mr. Hayden was then introduced and read a brief paper on the Gravel Creek stone mealing trough presented to the Society by Mr. Chas. F. Hill and Mr. E. L. Bullock of Hazleton and Beaver Creek.

On motion, a vote of thanks was extended to these gentlemen for the gift.

On motion of Mr. F. Hillman, a vote of thanks was also extended to Rev. Mr. Hayden for his paper which was referred to the Publishing Committee.

The President then introduced Mr. Christopher Wren of Plymouth, who exhibited a choice portion of his Ethnological Collection, gathered in this section, and gave a very interesting lecture on the subject.

On motion of Mr. Felix Ansart, the thanks of the Society were extended to Mr. Wren, with the request that he write out his remarks and place them in the hands of the Publishing Committee.

Remarks were then made on Mr. Wren's Collection by Mr. Hayden, who advised the members of Mr. Wren's intention to donate it to the Society in the Spring.

Mr. J. Bennett Smith, at this moment, presented to the Society the rare copper spear point found by him in Wisconsin. The Society voted Mr. Smith their thanks for the gift.

Mr. Hayden, by request, read a brief paper on the Buried Valley of Wyoming by Mr. Benj. S. Lyman of Philadelphia.

On motion, the Society adjourned at 9.15.

Monthly Meeting, November 14, 1902.

Hon. Stanley Woodward, President, in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The President then introduced Rev. David Craft of Angelica, N. Y., a corresponding member and the speaker of the evening, who read an extremely interesting paper on "A Day at Wyalusing," being an account of the personnel of the French settlers of Asylum, a supplemental paper to his address of July 14, 1898. Mr. Byles, who was present, also displayed the old map of Asylum.

On motion of Mr. Hayden, a vote of thanks was unanimously extended to Dr. Craft, and also to Mr. Byles, and the manuscript was referred to the Publishing Committee. Mr. Byles was requested to furnish the committee with a tracing of the map.

On motion, the Society adjourned at 9.45.

Monthly Meeting, January 16, 1903.

The Hon. Stanley Woodward, President, in the chair.

The Corresponding Secretary presented the following applications and proposals for membership, properly approved by the Trustees:

Resident—Miss Martha A. Maffet, Mr. Frederic E. Zerby, Mr. Joseph C. Powell.

Corresponding—Mr. Stewart Culin, Curator of Archæology, University of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Charles Johnson, Curator of Paleontology, Wagner Free Institute, both of Philadelphia.

Honorary—Frederick B. Peck, Ph. D., Professor of Geology and Mining, Lafayette College, Pa.

On motion of Mr. Hayden, these were unanimously elected.

The President introduced Dr. F. B. Peck, who delivered a very instructive address on "The *Atlantosaurus* and *Tritanottherium* Beds of Wyoming;" *i. e.*, the gigantic fossil remains of Wyoming, illustrated by stereopticon views.

On motion, a vote of thanks to Dr. Peck was unanimously passed, and his paper referred to the Publishing Committee.

On motion, the Society adjourned at 9.30.

Annual Meeting, February 11, 1903.

Hon. Stanley Woodward, President, in the chair.

The meeting was opened with prayer by Rev. Dr. Jones.

The minutes of the November and January meetings were read and approved.

On motion of Mr. Hayden, the President appointed Messrs. Wren, Welter and Brown a committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year, who reported the following nominations, which were unanimously elected :

President, Hon. Stanley Woodward.

Vice Presidents, Rev. Henry Lawrence Jones, S. T. D., Hon. Jacob Ridgway Wright, Col. George Murray Reynolds, Rev. Francis Blanchard Hodge, D. D.

Corresponding Secretary and Librarian, Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden.

Recording Secretary, Sidney Roby Miner.

Treasurer, Frederick Charles Johnson, M. D.

Trustees, Hon. Charles Abbott Miner, Samuel LeRoi Brown, Edward Welles, Richard Sharpe, Andrew Fine Derr.

Curators—Archæology, Hon. Jacob Ridgway Wright.

Numismatics, Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden.

Mineralogy, William Reynolds Ricketts.

Paleozoology, Joshua Lewis Welter.

Paleobotany, William Griffith.

Meteorologist, Rev. Francis Blanchard Hodge, D. D.

Dr. F. C. Johnson, the Treasurer, read his annual report, which, on motion, was received and referred to the Publishing Committee.

The Corresponding Secretary presented his annual report, which, upon motion of Dr. Johnson, was received, with the thanks of the Society, and referred to the Publication Committee.

The following applicants for membership were unanimously elected :

Resident—Mr. Edward F. Payne. Mr. Daniel Edward Newell of Kingston, who, having paid the usual fee, was transferred to the Life membership list.

On motion, a vote of thanks was extended to District Deputy Grand Master W. D. White, F. and A. M., for the gavel used by him in laying the corner-stone of the new Federal Building. Rev. Mr. Hayden stated that it was made by Mr. S. Y. Kittle of rare wood brought from the South Sea Islands.

The President introduced Christopher Wren, Esq., of Plymouth, who read a paper prepared by Mr. A. F. Berlin of Allentown, on the subject of a Wyoming Indian Relic, describing the method of chipping flint into spears and arrow-heads. He also read a part of an article on "Materials" by Mr. Berlin, published in a volume entitled "Historical Implements," by W. K. Moorehead, following it up with a few informal remarks on the subject of the evolution of the implements from the rough pieces of flint or jasper from the quarry, to the "blades" or "blanks," and then to the finished implement, showing specimens of the flint in all the various stages, as well as specimens of the hammer stones.

On motion, a vote of thanks was extended to Mr. Berlin and Mr. Wren, and the papers referred to the Publishing Committee.

On motion, a vote of thanks was also extended to the many generous donors who have added gifts to the collections of the Society during the past year.

On motion, the meeting adjourned at 9.20 P. M.

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Report of the Corresponding Secretary and Librarian for 1902.

To the President and Members of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society:

GENTLEMEN—In presenting to you the annual report of this Society, I beg to remind you that this is the forty-fifth anniversary of the birth of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. We are fortunate in having had for our President during the past eight years one of the four persons who, on February 11, 1858, founded the Society, and we trust that he will long live to honour us in that position. He himself is also to be congratulated on having held forty-five years of continuous membership in the Society, an admirable example for others to emulate. Three only of his associated members of 1858 have been so long connected with the institution—Messrs. Robert Baur, John Laning and William H. Sturdevant. Twelve of our present members, representing the first twelve years of our corporate existence, are the four just referred to, and Messrs. E. H. Chase and E. Sterling Loop of 1859, Hon. Charles A. Miner of 1864, Messrs. George R. Bedford of 1866, John Welles Hollenback of 1868, and William S. McLean, George Loveland and Andrew Hunlock of 1870.

These twelve were among those members who in 1870 were invited to witness the funeral obsequies of the Society, as noted in the admirable paper of Rev. Dr. Jones in the seventh volume of our Proceedings. The Society on that occasion refused a premature burial, shook off its lethargy and took on new life. These twelve have witnessed that new life gradually develop under the zealous care of Ingham, Wright and Reynolds, into one of the most useful and permanent educational factors of Northeastern Pennsylvania, wide in its reputation and influence.

It is very gratifying to be able to report that the condition of the Society is to-day most healthy in all its departments, limited only, as all such organizations unfortunately are, by the very small number of members who are able or willing to give it active service.

Such a Society as this cannot and should not be sustained as a close corporation. It must be made useful to the public to give it stability and character. It was organized as an educator, and can succeed only as this purpose is carried out. This was more fully realized by the Trustees when in 1893 they decided to open the Library and Museum to the public eight hours a week. This movement, which was only experimental, resulted in an increased demand for the privilege, and the eight hours were extended to thirteen, and then to twenty-two, and the rooms have been opened each week day from 2 to 5 P. M. for the past two years.

The Society is now, however, in a condition to meet a larger demand from the public, and at the request of the Librarian, the Trustees have decided to open the Library and Museum, beginning after Easter, each week day from 10 A. M. to 5 or 6 P. M., a period of forty-eight hours a week. This move is partly made advisable by a special public claim. The Osterhout Free Library is open to the public sixty hours a week. It has been the fixed purpose of these two associated libraries to avoid duplicating books. In the more than 30,000 volumes of the Free Library it is doubtful if over 500 titles are duplicated in the library of this Society, which is strictly confined to American History, Genealogy and Geology, and has a list of nearly 20,000 books and pamphlets on these subjects. The Free Library touches on these branches of study only in a general way.

But the demand in this geological section for such literature as pertains to this department, at hours when the Society Library is not open, has made it necessary for the Free Library to enlarge its geological field. This will be avoided by the extension of the hours of opening to the Society Library, where there are over 2,000 volumes on Geology, from 22 to 40 or 48 hours weekly.

The finances of the Society are in such a prosperous condition as to justify this change and to guarantee its success. At our last annual meeting the Treasurer reported our endowment fund to have reached the sum of \$17,600. I have the pleasure to report to-day that we have, invested in first-class securities, an endowment fund of \$21,700. Three years ago I made an effort to increase our permanent funds by securing personal gifts to the extent of \$5,000 from members interested in the work. To this end Mr. John Welles Hollenback gave \$1,000 conditioned on my securing the other \$4,000. This condition has been fully met in the sum of \$4,000 paid in and invested in five per

cents, with an overplus of \$700, covered by first-class securities, to be paid during the present year. The \$5,700 included the

Matthias Hollenback Fund,	\$1,000
L. Denison Stearns Fund,	1,000
Life Membership fees of \$100 (27),	2,700
Addition to the Lacoe Fund by the family,	100
Dr. George Woodward for the Zebulon Butler Fund,	200
Additional gift to the Butler Fund,	130
Secured by the sale of publications and other books,	60
Total,	<u>\$5,730</u>

The income of the Society from the invested funds will be, during the present year, \$1,050. That from 210 annual members will be an equal amount, \$1,050. The Act of Assembly, passed in 1901, authorizing the Commissioners of each county to pay the sum of \$200 annually to the oldest Historical Society in the county, under certain very important conditions, will add that amount to the income of this Society, which is second only to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in more than meeting the requirements of the Act of Assembly. To some this income of \$2,300 may seem more than adequate for all the purposes of this Society. But the annual membership is more or less fluctuating, and only an invested principal can guarantee a uniform income. The necessity for the purchase of books for the Library must be patent to any thoughtful person. For this purpose we have two Funds only, the Harrison Wright Fund and the Sheldon Reynolds Fund, each \$1,000, the first given for the purchase of English books of Genealogy, and the second for the purchase of American Vital Statistics that are rare and needed for study. These two funds yield each \$50 annually. The Lacoe Fund of \$450 and the Ingham Fund of \$350, the Butler Fund of \$350, all three of which will in a few years increase to \$1,000 each, are not yet in condition to give aid to the Geological and Ethnological Cabinets to which they are pledged. The Treasurer's Report will show how small a portion of the income of the Society has been used for buying books during the past year, this partly owing to the fact that 25 per cent of the income from memberships was not paid in until the last month of the year. The price of historical and geological books, which are never published in large editions, is such that \$500 will rarely buy more than 100 to 150 volumes. The publication

of an annual volume of Proceedings by the Society, the only material return the members receive for their annual dues of five dollars, and which alone places and keeps us in touch with the outside historical and scientific world and gives us reputation and exchanges, costs the Society annually from \$300 to \$350; and while this is reduced by the sale to libraries and others of our annual volumes, the receipts from all such sales are required by the By-Laws to be added to the special invested funds of the Society.

"Surely, such an income should suffice for this Society." Thus have several members spoken. Mr. President, it is not enough. This Society needs and in time *will have* an endowment of \$50,000. For this institution is not a Charity, nor is it a Luxury, nor, let me emphasize, is it for the benefit of the Corresponding Secretary. But it is as great a necessity to the educational interests of this section of Pennsylvania as any public school or library in this section. It is the object lesson for those two great branches of learning taught in all our schools—Geology and Anthropology—the science of the Earth, and of those who have peopled the earth. It may be barely possible that some members may, in their appreciation of the purpose of this Society, be like the janitor who asked for an increase of working hours and of pay, and when told that the money was needed for books, replied, "But, sor, why not buy less books." To him the scope of the Society was limited to his immediate field of labor.

No, Mr. President, the income of the Society is not yet equal to the purpose for which you aided in founding it. It is now in a state of usefulness and prosperity that is attracting public notice. The intelligent people of this section are realizing its value, and have in various ways shown a personal interest in its work. Its annual volumes have given it a character for historical and scientific research that has called forth the commendation of our best and most distinguished societies. Northeastern Pennsylvania ought to take especial pride in its enrichment. We are working for posterity.

In the annual Report for 1901 the hope was expressed that an Ethnological Fund of \$1,000 could be secured, the interest of which could be expended in adding to our fine collections of local Indian remains a part of the many desirable specimens that are held by private persons in the Susquehanna Valley. This fund was begun January 1, 1903, by the Corresponding Secretary, and named as a Memorial Fund for that distinguished hero of Wyoming of whom Charles Miner wrote these words:

"The Life of Colonel Zebulon Butler is the history of Wyoming." No monument or memorial of Colonel Butler exists to-day except that which also preserves the names of all the participants of the event of July 3, 1778. The Zebulon Butler Fund amounts already to \$350, and will be increased to \$1,000 by the gifts of his descendants, remaining a continual memorial to his name. I feel personally pledged to its success, my great-grandfather having been his adjutant in the Continental Line, 1777-1778.

The Ethnological collection of the Society is very rich in local Indian remains. Our display of local Indian pottery has been pronounced one of the finest in the country. The Susquehanna section abounds with fine specimens which now and then are discovered, some to find their home in our collections, but many more to be stored away as curiosities that eventually are lost or destroyed. The various scientific societies in the United States are actively gathering these relics of a prehistoric people, and we need a fund for the purpose of purchasing such as do not naturally drift to our Society. The Griffith Collection, presented in 1896, and the Wren Collection, to be placed here in the Spring, will increase our number of specimens to about 14,000. The Jenkins Collection and the Hollister Collection have been well known for years, but while this Society is the proper place for the preservation of such treasures, it is not certain that they will be deposited here. The Butler Fund will supply an income for securing many fine individual specimens that will grace any collection. The desire to give every descendant of Colonel Zebulon Butler an opportunity to add a gift to this fund has led to the discovery that there are over seventy living descendants of that distinguished Continental officer.

The Society also needs a Binding Fund, as the income has not allowed the necessary binding to be done for several years. A Binding Fund of \$2,000, yielding an income of \$100, would be a great boom to the Library. A Publication Fund of \$5,000, yielding annually \$250, to be used in printing the annual volume, would release the annual income of that amount. Such a fund would be the most intellectual and permanent monument to the person or family giving it that can be suggested. Imagine the handsome volumes which you have received during the past three or four years enriched by an illuminated name, printed in clear and tasteful type on the top of the title page, in red, the color of the Society, similar to the beautiful publications of the Maryland Historical Society, for example,

"THE JOHN FRANKLIN FUND."

What memorial, going as it does into the largest libraries on this continent, and to individuals throughout this entire section—what memorial, bearing the name of one of our old and historic families, could be more beautiful and enduring in its character for good?

But, Mr. President, I am not done in making suggestions that **MUST** become practical in the near future. It is very important that, as soon as possible, the Library of this Society should have a Card Catalogue for the benefit of the public. It is true that the present Librarian is entirely familiar with the Library, but visitors must appeal to him to know what books we have; and should his services be ended by any Providential cause, whoever might fill his place would be very grievously hampered by the lack of a card catalogue. Such a catalogue the Librarian has himself endeavored to make, but the pressure on his time and strength of the immediate duties of his four offices—Corresponding Secretary, Librarian, Curator, Editor, &c.—as will be seen below, have made the effort futile. The cost of such a catalogue, including cases, would not be less than \$700, as the work is necessarily expert work, and would require fully twelve months to complete. The expense could be more conveniently met by beginning during the last half of one year, and ending during the first half of the next year, thus drawing the expense from two years' income instead of one. This matter should receive the careful and prompt consideration of the Society, and I beg that a committee of members may be appointed for that purpose to report at some subsequent meeting.

About the year 1890 the estate of the late Major Alexander H. Bowman, U. S. A., donated to this Society a large number of books, and a valuable collection of fossil and recent shells, with other matter. The books were added to the Library, among them being an extensive collection of French and English works on Military Tactics. The fossil remains were packed away until the large collection of the Society could be removed from the old Franklin street quarters of the Society to the present building, then in course of construction. After the removal of the Society, the long illness and subsequent death of our honored President, Sheldon Reynolds, Esq., who was at the same time the Curator of Archæology, prevented his opening the Bowman Fossils. During the past year I found them packed away, and opened them with delight on finding what they contained. They have been added to our Geological cabinet, to

which they form a most valuable addition. The shells, fossil and recent, are those secured by Major Bowman while dredging Charleston Harbor in 1853 for the erection of Fort Sumter, of which he was the Military Engineer. He was also aided in his work by our late President, Dr. Charles F. Ingham. The fossil shells are of the Tertiary period, numbering over 700 specimens of the Eocene, Miocene, Pliocene and the Post Pliocene. With these are also several thousand very fine Squalidae, or fossil sharks' teeth of the Eocene, many of the largest size known and in unusually fine order. The Bowman Collection now forms a part of the educational display in our Geological room showing the "Crust of the Earth," and arranged for the use of the schools. We are greatly indebted to Mr. Charles W. Johnson, late Curator of the Wagner Free Institute of Philadelphia, and now Curator of the Boston Natural History Society, who kindly came to our city, at my request, and classified and arranged the Tertiary fossils without any charge for his valuable services.

In the past twelve months five meetings of the Society were held.

The annual meeting was held February 11, 1902, when the reports of officers were read, the officers for the ensuing year elected, and addresses made. The President delivered the annual address, on the "Value of Coins as a Historical Record," and a paper was read by Rev. Dr. Jones, one of our Vice Presidents, on "The Educational Value of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," to which I earnestly call the notice of our members.

The special meeting of April 11, 1902, was held for the election of members. That of October 24, 1902, was called to hear a paper by the Corresponding Secretary on "The Gravel Creek Stone" presented to this Society by Messrs. E. L. Bullock and Charles F. Hill of Hazleton; and a second paper by Mr. Christopher Wren of Plymouth on his extensive collection of local Indian Remains, 4,000 in number, which he will place in the Society during the present Spring. At the meeting of November 11, 1902, Rev. David Craft read a supplemental paper on his "History of Asylum," published in volume V of our Proceedings, entitled "Some Newly Discovered Facts of the French at Asylum, 1793-1807." The last meeting of the year was held January 16, 1903, when Dr. Frederick B. Peck of Lafayette College read a valuable paper on his investigations of the gigantic fossil remains of the West, entitled "The Atlantosaur and Tritanotherium Beds of Wyoming," illustrated by

stereopticon views. The two addresses of the last annual meeting were published in volume VII, and the others will appear in volume VIII in the coming autumn.

We are promised this year a second paper by Dr. Frederic Corss on the "Buried Valley of Wyoming" in May; Mr. A. F. Berlin of Allentown will present a paper on some rare "Indian Remains of Eastern Pennsylvania" in October; Edwin Swift Balch, Esq., of Philadelphia, one of our most liberal Corresponding Members, will give us a paper in November; and the annual geological paper will probably follow in January, by Professor Lilly of Princeton, or Professor Hopkins of Syracuse.

The question has been not unfrequently asked, if there is much to be done in keeping up the Society. It would be a wise move if every member of the Society would some time visit the rooms and ascertain where and how their annual dues are expended, for we have members who have never yet seen the inside of our building. They would soon find the answer to the above question.

As Corresponding Secretary I beg to report having received during the past twelve months 550 letters and other communications; and having written 535 letters, all of which will be found copied in the Letter Book. Besides this I have issued 1350 notices of meetings, with forty other communications, acknowledged the receipt of all donations and exchanges, mailed 125 pamphlets, delivered by express and otherwise 400 copies of volume VII, have sent out 300 circulars and accounts, and have edited the annual volume, of which I have written 65 pages, transcribed 80 pages, and read all the proof.

As Librarian I have to report receiving 1,143 books and 575 pamphlets; total, 1,718. Of these 543 were duplicates, leaving 1,178 books and pamphlets added to the Library. Of these, 188 were purchased, 220 were received by exchange, 307 by gift, and 434 from the United States and Pennsylvania State Governments. Of the gifts, 75 are bound volumes of the *Scranton Republican* and of Wilkes-Barre papers to complete our files, presented by the Leader Publishing Company of this city. Hon. J. Ridgway Wright sent us 235 duplicate State documents, and Hon. G. J. Hartman 152, Hon. Charles A. Miner 29. I take special pleasure in reporting that the family of the late William P. Miner has deposited in our fire-proof vault 26 bound volumes of Wilkes-Barre papers from 1797 to 1847. To the Indian collection we have added, by purchase and gift since the flood of 1902, 625 specimens. Among the gifts is the large sand-

stone mealing trough from Hunkydory Swamp, "the Gravel Creek Stone" presented by Messrs. E. L. Bullock and Charles F. Hill of Hazleton, a copper arrow head from Wisconsin by Mr. J. Bennett Smith, with other lesser but equally valuable relics. Mr. Wren's gift has already been noted, and its richness and rarity will be shown in his paper read before the Society last year, which will be published in volume VIII. Dr. Charles W. Spayd has presented to us the first case of surgical instruments ever brought to the Valley, and at a time when few medical men in the country were recognized as surgeons. From Mrs. Charles A. Miner we have received a handsome spinning-wheel and reel, once the property of Gen. W. S. Ross; and from the Davenport family of Plymouth a wooden plough 100 years old, that was used by the family for 100 years in clearing up the land in this Valley.

To our portraits we have added life-size crayons of the late William Penn Ryman, Esq., Life Member; Martin Coryell, Esq., President of the Society, 1868; J. Vaughn Darling, Esq., member; and Lieutenant Obadiah Gore, of the Continental Army—all given by the several families. Lieutenant Gore's portrait adds one more to the faces of the "Survivors of the Massacre of Wyoming," to which the only other portrait extant, that of General William Ross, will soon be added. Other portraits are promised. The membership of the Society now numbers—Life members, 108; Annual members, 212; total, 321.

The Harrison Wright and the Sheldon Reynolds Memorial Libraries have outgrown their present quarters, and the cases they occupy are sorely needed for the Geological cabinet. The Wright Library contains 250 books, and the Reynolds Library 100 volumes. To the Wright Library has just been added a fine set of "*The Gentleman Magazine*, 1731-1825," of 138 volumes, the leading magazine of history of England; and to the Reynolds Library the 35 volumes of the now rare *New York Biographical and Genealogical Record*. These Libraries will be moved to larger cases, holding 700 or more volumes each, which would have been in place to-day but for the carpenters' strike, and which have been generously given by the immediate families of Dr. Harrison Wright and Sheldon Reynolds, gifts worthy of special mention.

The Curator of Geology and Mineralogy desires to say that his department has added many interesting specimens to its collections, and the catalogue which he has been carefully preparing is nearly completed.

The Curator of Paleozoology, or the Lacoe Collection, reports an increase of 200 fossil remains to his department, some of which are from the Bowman Collection. The Bowman Collection, already described, while distinct from the Lacoe Collection, properly belongs to the department of Paleozoology, and forms an important part of the exhibition case, "The Crust of the Earth," which was the work of the Curators, Ingham, Wright, Lacoe and Welter.

Mr. William Griffith of Pittston, the well known Geologist, has accepted the office of Curator of Paleobotany, which was for many years Mr. Lacoe's special work in the Society. He has lately visited Mexico, and has sent to the Society some valuable coal fossils from the coal mines of that Republic.

The Department of Conchology was given up by the Society several years ago as not pertaining to the special work of our Institution, and the fine collection of shells is still awaiting a purchaser. When sold the money will be added to our permanent funds.

In conclusion, Mr. President, I most sincerely and urgently beg that the many member of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society will take a more personal interest in the work and purposes of the Society by visiting these rooms and attending the meetings at least once annually. It would greatly surprise some of our most intelligent members to hear the words of high commendation of this Society from visitors from the larger cities, men who work in similar institutions, and are familiar with scientific Societies. The beauty and cleanness of our building, the careful distribution of our specimens, the richness of our collections in an inland city, the rarity of our treasures, are all subjects of unsolicited praise from those who elsewhere work in such societies where large endowments make the gathering of historic and scientific objects an easy matter. We do not begin to appreciate the value to the educational interests of this section of this Society. That we do not appreciate it is not creditable to our record as a college-bred section, and an educational centre of this great Commonwealth.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN.

Treasurer's Report.

RECEIPTS.

February 11, 1902—February 11, 1903.

Balance, February 11, 1902,	\$ 451 49
Interest on Bonds,	1,000 50
Transfer from Savings Account,	2,011 85
Dues of Members,	810 00
George B. & Frederick Hillman Bonds,	200 00
From County Commissioners,	200 00

\$4,673 84

EXPENDITURES.

Salaries, etc.,	\$1,192 74
Wright Fund, interest for books,	50 00
Reynolds Fund, interest for books,	50 00
Ingham Fund, added by Trustees,	26 50
Lacoe Fund, added by Trustees,	100 00
Furniture and Frames,	50 59
Collector of Dues,	19 00
Postage and Incidentals,	140 02
Publications and Printing,	310 00
Books,	140 00
Address and Stereopticon	35 00
Webster Coal Company Bond and interest,	1,017 78
Westmoreland Club Bonds,	200 00
Plymouth Bridge Co. Bond and interest,	1,042 37
Balance,	299 84

\$4,673 84

By the Will of the late Isaac S. Osterhout, Esq., the Society is relieved of all expenses for rent, heat and light.

INVESTMENTS.

		Par value.		
7	Bonds, Spring Brook Water Co., . .	\$7,000 00	5	pr. ct.
6	" Plymouth Bridge Co., . . .	6,000 00	5	" "
1	" Miner-Hillard Co., . . .	1,500 00	5	" "
1	" Sheldon Axle Works, . . .	1,000 00	5	" "
1	" People's Telephone Co., . .	1,000 00	5	" "
3	" Webster Coal & Coke Co., .	3,000 00	5	" "
1	" United Gas & Electric Co., N.J.	1,000 00	5	" "
3	" Westmoreland Club, . . .	300 00	3	" "
		<hr/>		
		\$20,800 00		
Savings Account,		100 00	3	pr. ct.
		<hr/>		
Total,			\$20,900 00	

These investments comprise the following Special Funds :

Life Membership Fund,	\$10,800 00	
Harrison Wright Fund,	1,000 00	
Sheldon Reynolds Fund,	1,000 00	
Matthias Hollenback Fund,	1,000 00	
L. Denison Stearns Fund,	1,000 00	
Charles F. Ingham Fund,	300 00	
Ralph D. Lacoe Fund,	400 00	
Zebulon Butler Fund,	300 00	
		<hr/>
		15,800 00
General Fund,		5,100 00
		<hr/>
Total,		\$20,900 00

By Cash invested at 5 per cent.

SPECIAL FUNDS.

Included in above Resources, the interest of which is expended for the
Library and Cabinets.

HARRISON WRIGHT MEMORIAL FUND.

Used for English Family History.

By Cash invested at 5 per cent.,	\$1,000 00
“ Interest for 1901, expended for books,	50 00

SHELDON REYNOLDS MEMORIAL FUND.

Used for rare American History.

By Cash invested at 5 per cent.,	\$1,000 00
“ Interest, 1901, expended for books,	50 00

DR. CHARLES F. INGHAM MEMORIAL FUND.

. Geological.

By Cash invested at 5 per cent.,	\$300 00
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RALPH D. LACOE MEMORIAL FUND.

Lacoe Palaeozoic Collection.

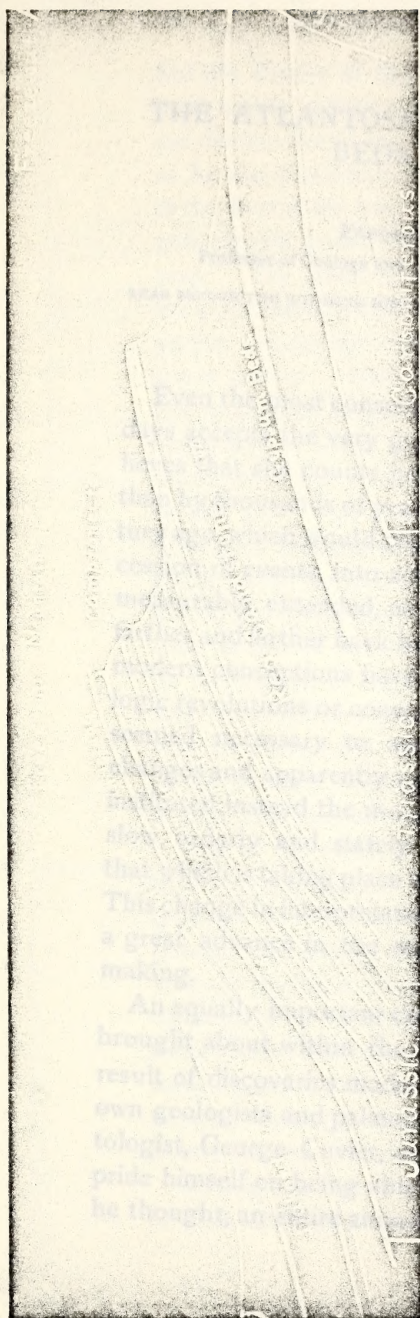
By Cash invested at 5 per cent.,	\$300 00
“ “ Family of Mr. Lacoe,	100 00
Total,	\$400 00

COL. ZEBULON BUTLER FUND.

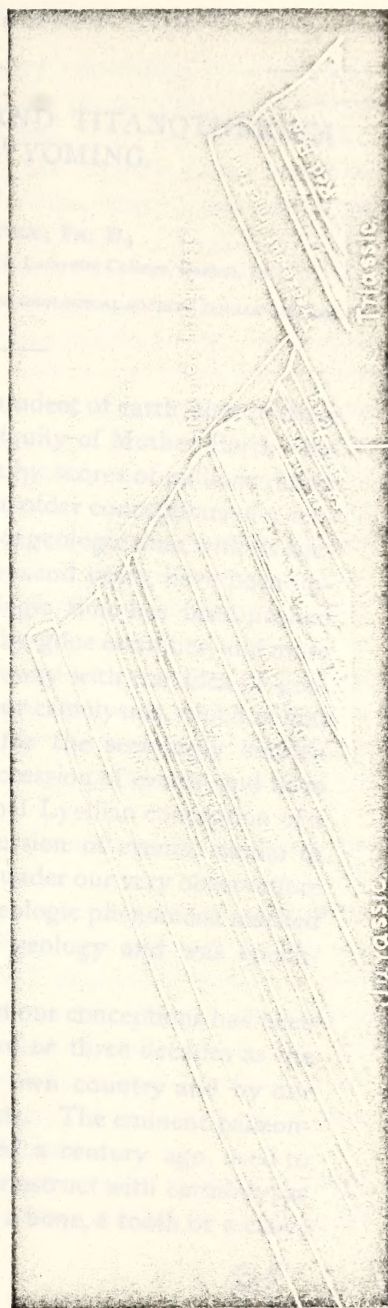
Ethnological.

By Cash invested at 5 per cent.,	\$300 00
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F. C. JOHNSON,
Treasurer.



I. SECTION THROUGH THE NORTH SIDE OF THE FREEZE-OUT. ANTICLINAL AT FREEZE-OUT MOUNTAIN.



THE ATLANTOSAUR AND TITANOTHERIUM BEDS OF WYOMING.

BY

FREDERICK B. PECK, PH. D.,

Professor of Geology and Mineralogy, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.

READ BEFORE THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY JANUARY 16, 1903.

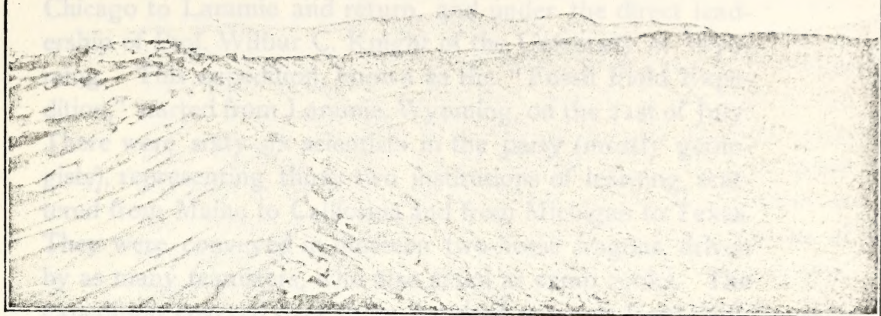
Even the most conservative student of earth history these days accepts the very great antiquity of Mother Earth; believes that she counts her years by scores of millions rather than by thousands of years. The older conceptions of a century ago, which would crowd all of geologic time, with its succession of events, into a few thousand years, have been immeasurably extended, and geologic time has been pushed farther and farther back into the by-gone eternities, and more modern conceptions have done away with the idea of geologic revolutions or convulsions or cataclysms, which at first seemed necessary to account for the seemingly sudden changes and apparently rapid succession of events, and have instituted instead the more rational Lyellian conception of a slow, orderly and stately progression of events, similar to that which is taking place to-day under our very observation. This change in interpretation of geologic phenomena marked a great advance in the study of geology and was epoch-making.

An equally important change in our conceptions has been brought about within the last two or three decades as the result of discoveries made in our own country and by our own geologists and palæontologists. The eminent palæontologist, George Cuvier, who lived a century ago, used to pride himself on being able to reconstruct with certainty, as he thought, an entire animal from a bone, a tooth or a claw;

but his theory of the necessary correlation of organs has been rather rudely shaken by the remarkable palæontological discoveries of the New World. They say that one night, as he was peacefully sleeping, his majesty, Satan, appeared at the foot of his bed, clothed in his orthodox dress of horns and cloven hoofs, and said: "Cuvier, I am going to eat you." The great scientist scanned his visitor thoughtfully for a moment, noted the horns and the hoofs, and then in perfect unconcern retorted: "Impossible, you are an herbivorous animal." Had Cuvier lived to-day he would not have felt so sure of his ground, and he might have had a lurking suspicion, at least, that the creature at the foot of his bed was able to carry out his threat to the letter and devour him on the spot. For in tracing back the ancestry of the widely divergent forms of vertebrate animal life now existing (more particularly the mammals), we find them merging by gradual stages into forms so strange and apparently incongruous that we find it necessary to modify George Cuvier's theory of correlation of organs and assume an entirely unbiassed and unprejudiced position regarding any new form which may be discovered. For though carnivorous, it may possess horns or even hoofs; and though herbivorous, it may be armed with claws.

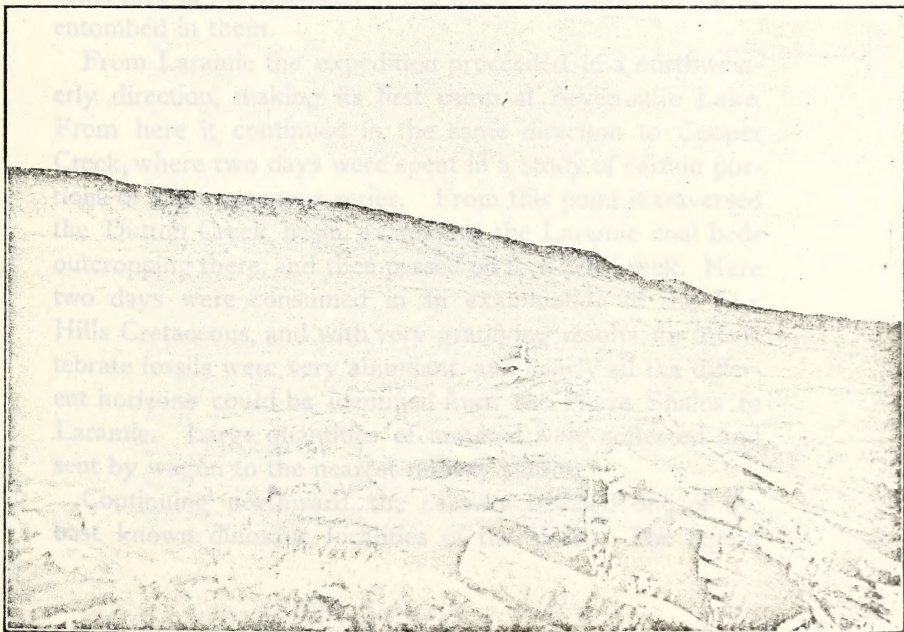
One of the most, if not *the* most, remarkable region on the face of the globe for the production of these composite types of animal life, as well as for the production of other strange and bizarre forms, which rival in grotesqueness the hideous mythical monsters and dragons of mediæval conception, is to be found in the middle West. Discoveries here, made Professors Cope and Marsh famous, and the same region is still continuing to show itself a veritable wonderland through the discoveries of Williston, Wortman, Scott, Osborn, Hatcher and Knight.

During the Summer of 1899 it was the writer's privilege to visit some of the most famous localities for fossil verte-



THE NORTHEASTERN RIM OF THE FREEZE-OUT AMPHITHEATER.

The ridge in the foreground is Triassic. The one in the background is Jurassic, capped by Dakota sandstone (cretaceous).



EASTERN PORTION OF THE COMO BLUFF.

The ridge immediately in the foreground is upper Triassic.

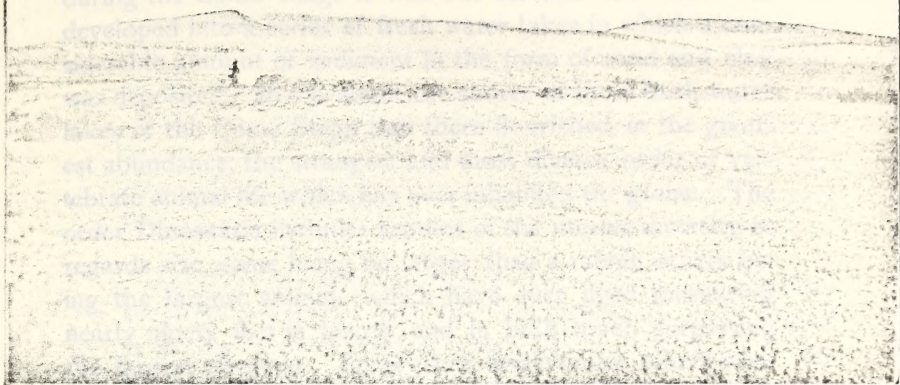
brates to be found in the West. At that time a large expedition was organized under the auspices of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, which furnished free transportation from Chicago to Laramie and return, and under the direct leadership of Prof. Wilbur C. Knight of the University of Wyoming. This expedition, known as the "Fossil Field Expedition," started from Laramie, Wyoming, on the 21st of July. There were sixty-six scientists in the party (mostly geologists), representing thirty-two institutions of learning, scattered from Maine to California and from Michigan to Texas. They were conveyed in nineteen two-horse wagons, driven by as many teamsters, who also acted as camp cooks. The expedition covered over three hundred miles, in forty days, during which time eighteen camps were made. The chief object of the expedition was the study of the famous dinosaur beds which are so well developed in the region lying northwest from Laramie, and it is the purpose of this paper to describe the geology of those beds, as well as to give some idea of the character of the huge vertebrates which lie entombed in them.

From Laramie the expedition proceeded in a northwesterly direction, making its first camp at Seven-mile Lake. From here it continued in the same direction to Cooper Creek, where two days were spent in a study of certain portions of the cretaceous series. From this point it traversed the Dutton Creek basin, examining the Laramie coal beds outcropping there, and then passed on to Rock Creek. Here two days were consumed in an examination of the Fox Hills Cretaceous, and with very gratifying results, for invertebrate fossils were very abundant, and nearly all the different horizons could be identified from the Pierre Shales to Laramie. Large quantities of material were collected and sent by wagon to the nearest railway station.

Continuing northward, the caravan reached one of the best known dinosaur localities of the West. The region

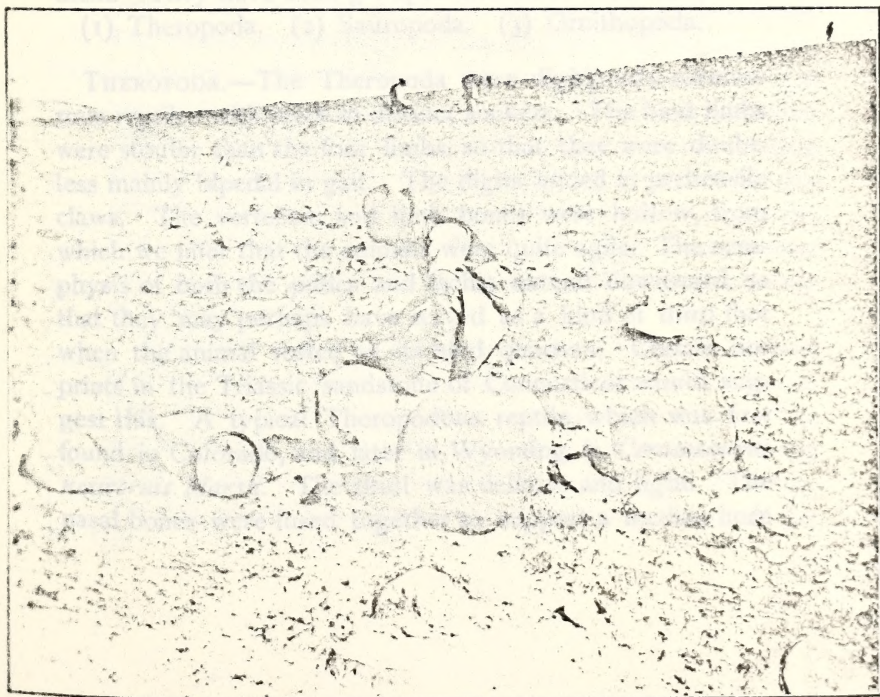
about Lake Como has been rendered classic by the discoveries of Prof. Marsh. South of the lake, and a short distance from the town of Aurora, is the famous Como Bluff, which forms a ridge having an easterly and westerly trend. In reality the Bluff constitutes the southern limb or flank of an anticlinal fold, the summit and central portions of which have been eroded in a direction parallel to the axis of the fold. Along this axis sandstones of a brick red color have been exposed, which are of Triassic age. Between these red beds at the base, and the heavy coping of sandstone at the summit of the Bluff, is to be found the entire Jurassic of Wyoming, consisting of a series of sandstones and variegated clays about three hundred feet in vertical thickness. The same beds occur even more clearly exposed in the Freeze-out-Hills, our next point of interest, for which reason it will be well to leave the more detailed description of the beds until we come to discuss the Freeze-out section. It will be sufficient to state here that the Jurassic formation of Wyoming falls naturally into two subdivisions of about equal importance, each measuring about one hundred and fifty feet in thickness. The lower of these two divisions comprises rocks belonging to what is known as the Shirley Stage, because it is typically developed on the flanks of the Shirley Mountains. It consists of marine sediments, sands and clays. The upper division is composed largely of drab, purple and red clays or shales, which are of fresh water origin, and constitute the rock series belonging to the so-called Como Stage, because typically developed in the Como Bluff. These two terms, "Shirley Stage" and "Como Stage," have been very appropriately suggested by Prof. Wilbur C. Knight.

From the character and distribution of these two series of beds, in fact, from the character and distribution of the entire Jurassic of the West, geologists have postulated the existence of a shallow arm of the sea, extending from Vancouver's Island, first east, then south into northern Arizona.



THE FREEZE-OUT ANTICLINAL FROM THE SOUTHEAST.

The man in the middle ground is taking a shot at a bunch of antelope.



COLLECTING FOSSILS FROM THE FOX HILLS CRETACEOUS AT ROCK CREEK.

Concretions in the foreground.

During the Shirley Stage this epicontinental arm of the Pacific maintained communication with the open sea, but during the Como Stage it was cut off from the ocean and developed into a series of fresh water lakes in which a considerable amount of sediment in the form of sand and clay was deposited. It was about the shores of these fresh water lakes of the Como Stage that there flourished, in the greatest abundance, the strangest and most diverse order of vertebrate animal life which has ever inhabited the globe. The order Dinosauria includes reptiles of the utmost diversity as regards size, some being no larger than a rabbit, others being the largest animals which have ever lived, measuring nearly ninety feet in length, and in bulk much surpassing the largest elephant. Some were herbivorous, others were carnivorous. They were both quadrupedal and bipedal in gait. The larger forms were cumbrous and slow of motion; many of the smaller ones were very agile. So heterogeneous is the group that it is a difficult matter to classify them. They have been grouped into three suborders, viz.:

(1) Theropoda. (2) Sauropoda. (3) Ornithopoda.

THEROPODA.—The Theropoda were digitigrade carnivorous reptiles with teeth in distinct sockets. The hind limbs were stouter than the four limbs, so that they were doubtless mainly bipedal in gait. The digits ended in prehensile claws. The vertebræ and limb bones were hollow, from which we infer that the animals were quite agile. The symphysis of both the pubes and ischia extend downward, so that they may perhaps have served as a kind of third foot when the animal rested on its hind quarters. Certain imprints in the Triassic sandstone of Connecticut would suggest this. A typical Theropodous reptile, which was first found in Colorado, and later in Wyoming, is *Ceratosaurus nesicornis* Marsh. The skull was delicate and light. The nasal bones were fused together to support a median horn

core. The cervical vertebræ were opisthocœlous, but the rest were amphicœlous. The caudal vertebræ were numerous; the anterior ones had long chevron bones which become small towards the end of the tail. In all Dinosauria the three elements of the pelvis entered into the formation of the acetabulum, but did not fuse together except in *Ceratosaurus*. A theropodus Dinosaur, *Hallopus victor*, Marsh, that is supposed to have had the power of leaping, was discovered in Colorado. It was one of the smallest Dinosaurs known, and was about the size of a domestic fowl.

SAUROPODA.—The Sauropoda were rather massive, herbivorous Dinosaurs, with fore and hind limbs nearly equal in size, hence they were probably quadrupedal in gait. The feet were plantigrade, with five hoofed digits. *Brontosaurus*, one of the best known genera of this suborder, had a very small head in comparison with the rest of the body, a very long flexible neck, short body and elongated tail. The tail constituted more than one-half of the entire length of the body. The majority of the vertebræ were opisthocœlous. The centra, except those of the caudals, had deeply excavated sides. Especially was this true of the dorsals. The sacrum had five coossified vertebræ. The ribs were hatchet-shaped. The length of *Brontosaurus excelsus* was at least sixty feet, according to Knight eighty or ninety feet. Another huge Sauropodous animal, *Atlantosaurus immanis* M., had a femur almost six feet long. The entire animal measured in length probably eighty feet, and in height twenty to twenty-five feet.

Diplodocus had a high narrow skull. The teeth, confined to the anterior portion of the jaws, were slender and feeble. The maxillæ and pterygoids were much extended. The single external narial opening was placed at the apex of the skull; so that the animal was doubtless aquatic in its habits. The tail, which constituted one-half the entire length of the

body, was of immense service as a propeller, and also acted as a lever to balance the weight of the rest of the body. The number of vertebræ, as given by J. B. Hatcher, is, cervicals, fifteen; dorsals, eleven; sacrals, four; caudals, thirty-seven; making a total of sixty-seven as against fifty-nine or sixty-two as given by W. J. Holland. The chevron bones of the tail were double, hence the name *Diplodocus*. The animal was about sixty-two feet long and twelve feet high. The neck was twenty, the trunk twelve and the tail thirty feet in length. *Morosaurus*, another genus found in Wyoming, has, like *Diplodocus*, deep cavities in the sides of the cervical and dorsal vertebræ similar to those in birds of flight. The animal was about forty feet long and quadrupedal in gait. It had a very small head with numerous teeth. The cervical and dorsal vertebræ were strongly opisthocœlous. The tail was elongated and had chevron bones similar to those of crocodiles. The pectoral arch had a small coracoid but a large elongated scapula. The humerus was very large. The massive ilium had two downward projections for union with the pubis and ischium. The acetabulum was perforated as in all Dinosaurs. The bones of the hind legs were long and stout.

ORNITHOPODA.—The last sub-order of the Dinosauria, Ornithopoda, has been conveniently divided into two branches—the unarmoured and the armoured. The animals all agree in being herbivorous and in having a prementary bone in the front of the mandible, which was ensheathed, perhaps, in a horny beak. They also had the narrow ilium prolonged antero-posteriorly; while the pubes had a post pubic process extending parallel to the ischium.

The unarmoured Ornithopoda were doubtless bipedal in gait and digitigrade. *Camptosaurus* is one of the best known American genera. At least four species of this genus have been found in Wyoming. It is very much like the

European genus *Iguanodon*. Its skull had a pointed beak, which was covered in life by a horny covering and opposed the prementary bone of the lower jaw. A supraorbital bone curved outward and backward into a free joint. The five digits of the fore-feet were functional, the thumb not being stiff as in *Iguanodon*. The hind foot had three functional digits and one rudimentary. *C. dispar* had a length of about twenty feet and a height of ten feet. *C. amplius* was about thirty feet long. *C. medius* was fifteen feet long. While *C. annus* had a length of six feet, and when at rest was about four feet high.

Laosaurus is another small unarmored Ornithopod the remains of which are found in Wyoming. Its fore limbs were less than one-half as long as the hind ones. The post-pubis was very similar to that of *Hesperornis regalis*. The femur was slightly shorter than the tibia and fibula. *L. consors* was eight to ten feet long.

The armoured Ornithopoda, or STEGOSAURIA, were huge quadrupedal reptiles. *Stegosaurus*, the best known form, had a small, elongated head, covered in front by a horny beak. The head contained a brain smaller, perhaps, in comparison to the size of the animal, than that of any other vertebrate. The teeth were small, numerous and blunt. The summits of the neural spines were usually expanded for the support of the dermal skeleton. The ribs of the dorsal vertebræ were attached to the neural arches. The fore limbs were stout, with a large olecranon process on the Ulna. The fact that the hind limbs were larger than the fore limbs and the massive character of the tail show that it could stand erect. For protection the animal had imbedded in the skin below the mandible and in the skin of the throat many rounded ossicles. In the median line along the back there was a row of large triangular bony plates extending from the head along the neck, back and two-thirds of the tail. On the upper side of the distal one-third of the tail, were

four pairs of massive spines, which were perhaps used for offence. The plates and spines were in life covered by a horny sheath as is shown by the vascular grooves on their surface. As all the bones of this huge heavily armored animal are solid, it must have moved very slowly. This, in connection with his small head and weak dentition, would require that its food be a succulent herbage growing in great luxuriance. *Stegosaurus ungulatus* had a length of about thirty feet.

All the above described sub-orders of the Dinosauria have been found in greater or less abundance in the fresh water clays of the Como Stage both at Aurora (Como Bluff) and in the Freeze-out Hills. The two most complete skeletons in existence, perhaps, the one of Brontosaurus and the other of Stegosaurus, were taken by Prof. Marsh from the Como Bluff. It is stated that the cost of exhuming, transporting, preparing and mounting this single skeleton of Brontosaurus cost Prof. Marsh \$10,000, and the work extended over a period of several years, from which it may be inferred that two of the chief requisites for dinosaur hunting are first unlimited means and second patience. It rarely happens that anything approaching a complete skeleton is taken from a single quarry. Sometimes a single locality will yield a lot of vertebræ, or it may yield a number of hind or fore limbs, or possibly a mixture of various parts of different animals, all scattered promiscuously within a few rods of each other. To mount a single skeleton, or to make a restoration, the dinosaur hunter usually has to resort to the fragmentary skeletons of several individuals.

Then, too, the discouragements and difficulties attending the actual digging process are usually great. We have found, it may be, indications of a nearly complete skeleton, but on following up this "bone lead" the whole thing terminates abruptly and the quarry is exhausted. Then, too, if imbedded in the soft clay or shale, the bones are apt to be

cracked into innumerable pieces, and must therefore be exhumed with great care, inch by inch, being protected as fast as exposed to the air by some kind of adhesive material, and finally, when completely exhumed, wrapped in sacking, saturated with plaster of paris, until they are thoroughly proof against all accidents attending shipment. If imbedded in a hard, resistant rock, such as sandstone, they may be shipped in the matrix and carefully removed in the laboratory by cutting away the rock with sharp instruments. The preparation of a skeleton from rock of this character frequently requires months, if not years, of patient and skillful labor.

A large number of fragmentary bones were picked up by different members of the party at the Como Bluffs. The writer had the good fortune to pick up the thoroughly silicified proximal end of a tibia, together with fragments of the shaft of some one of the other arm or leg bones of a *Brontosaurus* (?) almost on the very spot where Prof. Marsh discovered his first dinosaur. Others of the party were even more successful, finding complete bones from various parts of the skeleton of *Brontosaurus* and *Diplodocus*. One person found a perfect and beautifully serrated tooth belonging to *Ceratosaurus*. One gets some idea of the abundance of fossil vertebrate material in this region when it is stated that no less than six car loads of bones were shipped from the little town of Medicine Bow as the result of a single Summer's digging by organized parties sent out by the Universities of Wyoming and Kansas, and the Field Columbian, Carnegie and American Museums of Natural History.

From Aurora the procession of wagons moved eastward to the little town of Medicine Bow, then proceeded northward towards the Freeze-out Hills. These hills are the eastward extension of the Ferris, Seminole and Shirley Mountains, which lie in the northern portion of Carbon county. They constitute a portion of the southern margin

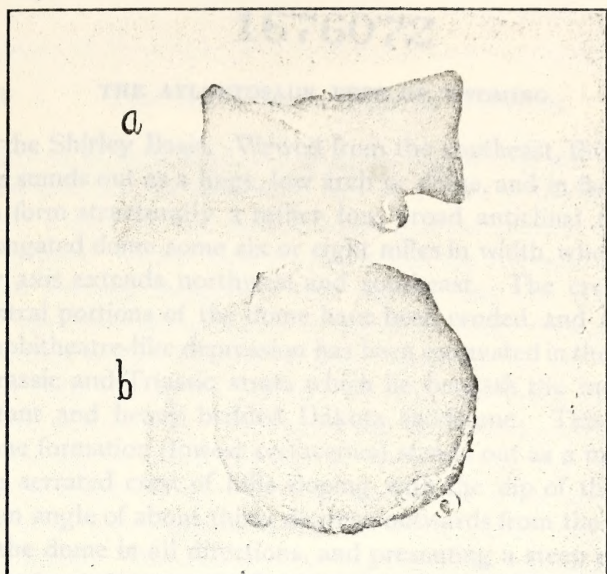
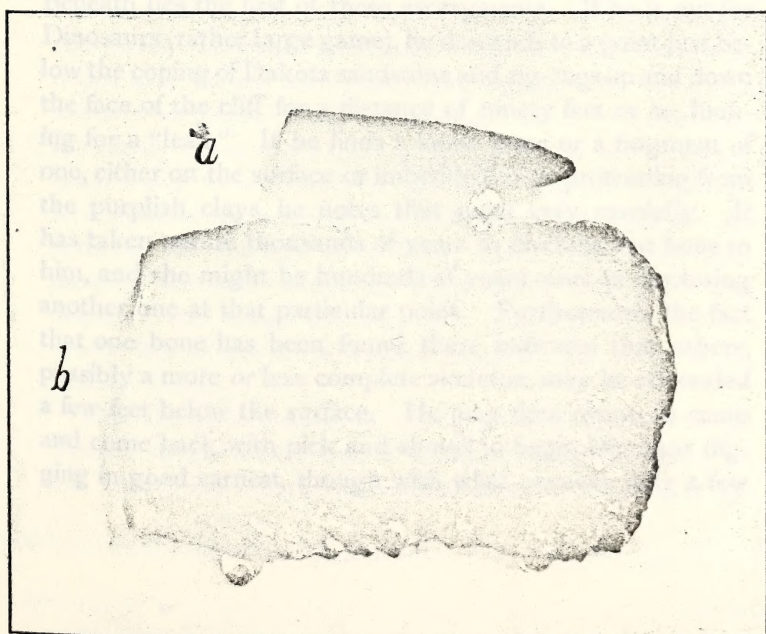


FIGURE 4.

PHOTOGRAPH SHOWING BICONCAVE CHARACTER
OF VERTEBRAE OF BAPTANODON.

- (a) Centrum broken through centre. (b) Centrum entire three inches in diameter, but lacking dorsal spine. From clay stone concretion imbedded in drab clay, Alcova, Wyoming.



- (a) Belemnites densus specimen three inches long. (b) Slab of sandstone covered with Belemnites, Freeze-out Mountain.

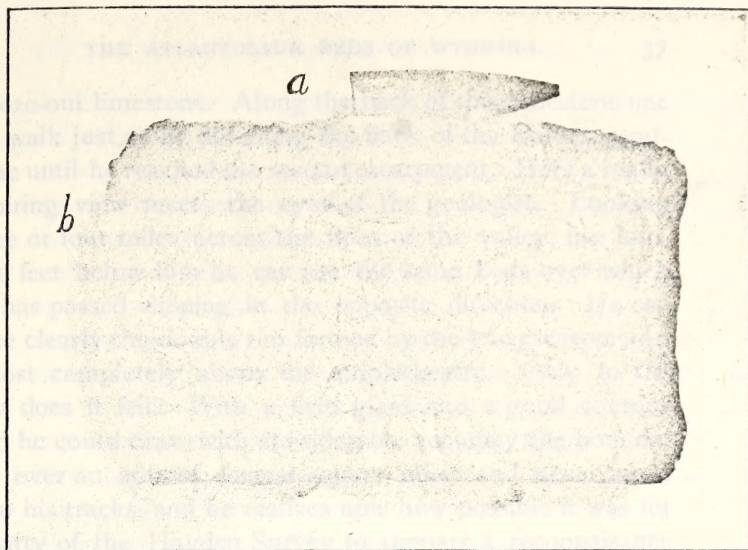
of the Shirley Basin. Viewed from the southeast, their profile stands out as a huge, low arch or dome, and in fact they do form structurally a rather low, broad anticlinal fold or elongated dome some six or eight miles in width, whose major axis extends northwest and southeast. The crest and central portions of the dome have been eroded, and a huge amphitheatre-like depression has been excavated in the softer Jurassic and Triassic strata which lie beneath the more resistant and heavy bedded Dakota sandstone. This sandstone formation (lowest cretaceous) stands out as a more or less serrated crest of hills sloping with the dip of the beds at an angle of about thirty degrees outwards from the centre of the dome in all directions, and presenting a steep escarpment inwards towards the amphitheatre-like depression at the centre. On the northeast side of the dome (it was here that the expedition went into camp) there are two well defined escarpments facing towards the centre of the fold. In entering the amphitheatre from this side, one climbs up the back of the dome, so to speak, with the Dakota sandstone under foot, reaching the summit of Freeze-out Mountain. Beneath lies the first of these escarpments. If he is out for Dinosaurs (rather large game), he descends to a point just below the coping of Dakota sandstone and zig-zags up and down the face of the cliff for a distance of ninety feet or so, looking for a "lead." If he finds a loose bone or a fragment of one, either on the surface or imbedded in or protruding from the purplish clays, he notes that point very carefully. It has taken nature thousands of years to disclose that bone to him, and she might be hundreds of years more in disclosing another one at that particular point. Furthermore, the fact that one bone has been found there indicates that others, possibly a more or less complete skeleton, may be concealed a few feet below the surface. He may then return to camp and come back with pick and shovel to begin Dinosaur digging in good earnest, though with what success only a few

days of as hard work as any grave digger ever did will tell, and that, too, on the sunny side of a cliff, in the middle of July it may be, and with no water near to quench his burning thirst. Under these circumstances the romance of Dinosaur hunting disappears very rapidly, and the magnitude of his undertaking begins to appeal to him. Several independent parties located valuable "quarries" in the Freeze-out Hills during the summer of 1899, and much good material was secured. The region was then comparatively new.

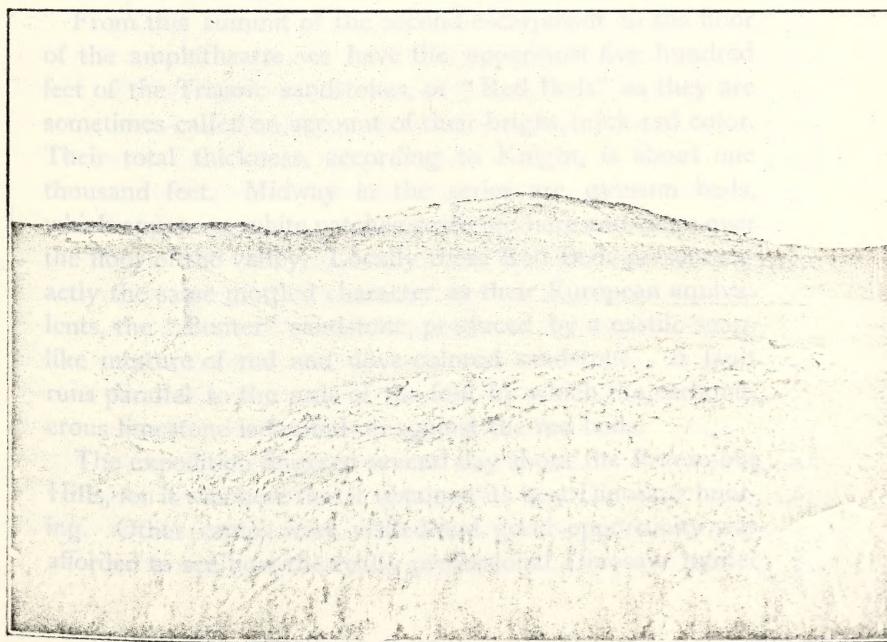
Passing on down the face of the cliff from the Dinosaur clays, which are from sixty to ninety feet thick, one comes to some heavy-bedded white sandstone, about forty feet in thickness. These beds, with the overlying dinosaur clays, comprise the fresh water or Como Stage of the Freeze-out Hills.

Just below and separating the rocks of the Como Stage above from those of the Shirley Stage below, is a rather thin bed of greenish sandy limestone, containing numerous shells of a pecten-like mollusk. This limestone constitutes the so-called "Camptonectes Zone." Below this lie some ninety feet of sandstone, clay and sandy clays, all of marine origin, containing numerous belemnites and occasionally the remains of a marine ichthyosaur-like reptile with deeply bi-concave vertebræ, called by Professor Marsh "Baptanodon," for which reason those beds lying just below the Camptonectes Zone were termed by him the "Baptanodon Beds." In Colorado the very lowest member of the marine series contains the remains of a small, rather gracefully built, jumping dinosaur named by Prof. Marsh *Hollopus*. This dinosaur was about the size of a domestic fowl. These ninety feet of marine sediments comprise the rocks of the Shirley Stage.

This brings one down to the uppermost member of the Triassic series, which here is a bed of limestone about ten feet thick, and which, for convenience, we can term the



(a) *Belemnites densus*. (b) Slab six inches long covered with shells of *camptonectes*, Alcova, Wyoming.



VIEW FROM THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE FREEZE-OUT AMPHITHEATER,
SHOWING RIM OF TRIASSIC SANDSTONE, WITH FREEZE-OUT
MOUNTAIN IN THE BACK GROUND.

The band of white just above the rim of the Triassic is white sandstone belonging to the marine Jurassic

Freeze-out limestone. Along the back of this limestone one can walk just as he did along the back of the Dakota sandstone until he reached the second escarpment. Here a really inspiring view meets the eyes of the geologist. Looking three or four miles across the floor of the valley, five hundred feet below him he can see the same beds over which he has passed dipping in the opposite direction. He can trace clearly the double rim formed by the two escarpments, almost completely about the amphitheatre. Only to the west does it fail. With a field glass and a good contour map he could draw with considerable accuracy the boundaries over an area of several square miles and never move from his tracks, and he realizes now how possible it was for a party of the Hayden Survey to prepare a reconnaissance map covering 20,000 square miles of territory in a single season. Quite different from conditions here in the East, where everything is covered up with over-wash, glacial till, or forests and underbrush.

From this summit of the second escarpment to the floor of the amphitheatre we have the uppermost five hundred feet of the Triassic sandstones, or "Red Beds" as they are sometimes called on account of their bright, brick-red color. Their total thickness, according to Knight, is about one thousand feet. Midway in the series are gypsum beds, which appear as white patches scattered here and there over the floor of the valley. Locally these Red Beds present exactly the same mottled character as their European equivalents, the "Bunter" sandstone, produced by a castile-soap-like mixture of red and dove-colored sandstone. A fault runs parallel to the axis of the fold by which the carboniferous limestone is faulted up against the red beds.

The expedition lingered several day about the Freeze-out Hills, for it was here that it obtained its best Dinosaur hunting. Other camps were visited and good opportunity was afforded to see how the really professional Dinosaur hunter

stalked his noble quarry, the largest game that ever fell to a hunter's pick and shovel, for be it known that *Brontosaurus excelsus*, whose remains are so abundant here in the drab clays of the Freeze-out Hills, is the largest animal that ever trod the surface of Mother Earth.

At last tents were reluctantly struck and the long caravan of wagons filed slowly off towards the north, with the mess wagons jingling along in the van as usual. The course lay along the somewhat more elevated and diversified tertiary plane forming the western portion of the Shirley Basin, the objective point now being the canon of the North Platte River. From a geological point of view this was the most interesting region visited. Views of the Platte River were first obtained from the rather elevated tertiary crest near the boundary between Carbon and Natrona counties. The elevation here is nearly seven thousand feet. To the west and south lay the Ferris and Shirley Mountains. To the northward was spread out a brilliant panorama. To the left were granite hills of neutral tints, on whose northern flanks lay rocks belonging to the Cambrian and Carboniferous periods. Following these to the northward were a series of sharp, even-crested ridges, whose escarpments faced southward, and whose beds dipped northward at an angle of about thirty degrees. The first ridge was composed of the bright, brick-red triassic sandstones, whose color contrasted pleasingly with the purple and red and greenish drab Jurassic clays in the next most northerly escarpment. Then followed a repetition of the red beds, due to faulting, and in the distance, lying on the upturned edges of all the other formations and in a nearly horizontal position, were the brown, cream and ash-colored beds of the Tertiaries. These colors were especially brilliant just after a rain. To the westward, buried in a canon of granite one thousand feet deep, with vertical walls, flowed the Platte River, noisy and turbulent as though angered at being so narrowly confined; but, on

issuing from its granite walls, it spread itself out more comfortably, and wound its way lazily and peacefully in and out in its broad bed among the painted cliffs of red and purple like a silver ribbon, until it lost itself in the distance. Truly it was a beautiful scene, a painted landscape this; and it was generally agreed that the climax had been reached, and all praised the wisdom of the leader, Professor Knight, for arranging the stopping places in so dramatic a sequence.

But even the beauty of such a scene could not long hold in check the ruling passion of these coatless zealots. They were soon clambering down into the canon with their cameras, or could be seen slowly feeling their way along the face of a clay cliff searching for some member of that dethroned dynasty that ruled the Jurassic period with such a tyranny. Nor were their efforts unavailing, for much good material was secured and brought into camp.

In the Platte Canon section the Jurassic beds showed some variation from their equivalents in the Freeze-out Hills. The rocks of the Shirley Stage were found to be better developed. The same horizons could be identified. Dinosaur remains, however, were not so abundant. From the Baptanodon beds the writer had the good fortune to secure a small portion of the vertebral column of the ichthyosaur-like reptile from which the beds take their name. The vertebræ, seven in all, were imbedded in a claystone concretion. Three of them were very perfect and were easily removed from the matrix. They are deeply Amphicoelous, as will be seen from the figure here given, which character shows their rather close relationship to fishes. The vertebræ are without the dorsal spines, and are from the caudal region. Baptanodon was a carnivorous, marine reptile, with a large, elongated head, no neck, and a rounded body which terminated in a vertically expanded tail. The jaws differ from the European Ichthyosaur in being

toothless. Hence the name. The body was furnished with four swimming paddles.

It will not be necessary to describe in detail the separate beds of the Jurassic as they occurred near the Platte Canon. Their relation and relative importance can be seen at a glance from the accompanying diagram, which was made on the ground while studying the formation. As at the Freeze-out Hills, we find the rocks of the Como and Shirley stages separated by the *Camptonectes* limestone, with *Belemites* very abundant in the clays below this horizon. It was from these clays that the vertebræ of *Baptanodon* above referred to were taken. In the clays above the *Camptonectes* zone the remains of Dinosaurs and a few well-defined fresh water mollusks were found.

From the Platte canon the route turned eastward, and the expedition really began its homeward march towards Laramie. The remainder of the journey was in some respects a repetition of what had already been seen. Except that at "Bates Hole," a deep and narrow valley carved out of tertiary strata, opportunity was given to study rocks of the Eocene and lower Miocene age. The "Hole" itself has a maximum depth of fifteen hundred feet. Below could be seen the delicately-tinted yellow-green, red and whitish Eocene shales and sandstones. Above, along the rim, one could distinguish the brownish sandstones of the Titanotherium beds belonging to the lower Miocene, often picturesquely castellated with towers of sandstone sometimes four hundred feet high, which contributed a new feature to "Bad Land" scenery. On the steeply sloping margins of the "Hole" were to be found pine trees perched upon the ends of their roots, the soft rock having been eroded from beneath them, so as to leave them standing two or three feet above the surface of the ground. The age of the trees could be ascertained by counting the annual rings of growth, and from this one could estimate the amount of time that had

been consumed in the removal of the two or three feet of soft rock beneath the tree. Making use of these observations, Professor Knight set in motion a sort of geological time-clock from which he estimated provisionally that it must have required 1,584,000 years to excavate Bates Hole; in other words, that that much time had elapsed since the close of Miocene time.

But we are transgressing the limits of our paper. From Bates Hole the expedition followed along the base of the Laramie Mountains back to Laramie City, having spent in all forty days, not in a wilderness, but in a perfect geological and palæontological paradise. And for the benefits and pleasures and general good fellowship of the expedition, all united in ascribing most hearty thanks to their leader, Professor Wilbur C. Knight of the University of Wyoming, and to the Union Pacific Railroad Company.

THE BURIED VALLEY OF WYOMING.

BY

FREDERIC CORSS, M. D.

READ BEFORE THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY MAY 8, 1903.

Two questions are frequently asked: What do you mean by the buried valley? Suppose it is two hundred feet lower at Nanticoke than the bed of the river at Berwick, of what interest is it? These seem simple questions to the initiated, but all teaching should begin at the beginning, therefore this paper finds its justification.

First. If all the soil and loose material were removed from the valley, it is supposed that a continuous canyon, worn by the action of running water, would be found from Pittston to Nanticoke, as is beautifully shown in the plaster cast lately presented to this Society by Mr. Griffith. That cast is in part hypothetical, and a very valuable addition to our study would be a cast showing the actual results of the different borings; this would show a chain of pot-holes extending down the valley, supposed to be connected by intervening but as yet unsurveyed rock cuts. Such river canyons are known in many places, and are supposed to have been formed by the action of swiftly-running water. Evidently an elevation of 200 feet at Berwick would have been a dam which would have prevented our canyon from being formed. It would have formed a vast pool in which sedimentation would have taken place, as did actually occur. So our buried valley remains unexplained.

But we should remember that not all river canyons are formed by the attrition of water running down a natural declivity. As, for example, the canyon of Niagara, the bed of which is supposed to be much lower than the level of

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READ BEFORE THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY MAY 2, 1890.

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But we should remember that not all river canyons are formed by the attrition of water running down a natural declivity. As, for example, the canyon of Niagara, the bed of which is supposed to be much lower than the level of

Lake Ontario. The cutting of a canyon by the action of a cataract, as in Niagara, produces, as in the Niagara Gorge, angular turns in its course, as appears in the Wyoming canyon where the cave occurred on Eighth street, Wyoming. However, all the caves thus far discovered are suggestive of a series of pot-holes, as seen at Watkins Glen, which would not have been prevented by a dam at Berwick. Still, I do not believe that the Wyoming canyon was caused by a retreating cataract, as the side walls are worn smooth as we see on the walls of erosion canyons.

Second. That the buried valley was of pre-glacial origin is seen from the fact that it is filled with glacial drift; indeed, the vast accumulation of drift which covers our bed-rock must have been brought by glacial action. There is an unstratified glacial mound in Edwardsville from which I have secured some beautiful specimens of subangular striated boulders, resting on an old drift mound of pre-glacial soil, the whole higher than the flood plain upon which the village of Kingston stands. The glacial epoch was only day before yesterday. Glacial lakes have not yet been drained by the cutting away by erosion of the channels of their outlets. The Falls of Montmorency, near Quebec, are probably of glacial origin, but the retreat of the precipice can scarcely be said to have commenced. Rock ledges in place have not weathered enough to have obliterated the glacial striations, so it is incredible that our underground canyon can be post-glacial. In short, it was formed when all these northern regions were at a much higher level than now, as was the case in glacial times.

This is no new proposition, though the proof would form an interesting study; but that is another story. I believe that our hills as well as our valley were at that time much higher than now. An elevation here of only 200 feet would have the effect of removing the Berwick dam and make plausible the theory of the formation of the Wyoming can-

yon by natural erosion, and I believe this is the explanation which will finally be accepted as accounting for this remarkable fact of physical geography.

The bed-rock of Wyoming Valley, which of course overlies the coal, is of soft clayey structure, very susceptible to the action of water, and consequently easy of erosion, while the rock under the river at Berwick is a hard Devonian formation very slightly susceptible to erosive action. Hence the canyon probably does not extend beyond the carboniferous outcrop. If it does it has not been found.

Probably the Wyoming canyon exists above Pittston in the Lackawanna Valley, as the gorge seems to have been cut by the Lackawanna River before the Susquehanna arrived here.

The extensive valley between Kingston Mountain and North Mountain shows universal water action, postglacial, as the small lateral moraines are mostly washed away. A large body of water poured over Kingston Mountain into the valley for a period long enough to produce extensive erosion and cover Welsh Hill with immense conglomerate boulders from the conglomerate cliff above it, after which the gorges at Luzerne and Pittston, becoming eroded more rapidly, furnished a lower outlet for the northern flood, and the immense drift mounds at those places were formed.

These mounds, it should be noted, lie on top of the glacial drift. The mound at Luzerne overlies the marsh, an old abandoned river bed.

The theory has been propounded that the great northern highlands, where our glacier arose, were pressed down by the weight of ice. If so, the surface south of the carboniferous strata was no doubt somewhat elevated or pushed up at the same time. We know that the highest mountains on the earth are slowly settling. The city of Quito is now fifty feet lower than it was when this Society was organized.

These considerations seem to the essayist to warrant the

conclusion that the buried canyon of Wyoming was formed by slow erosion of water flowing down a continuous declivity from Forest City to Berwick, and that its present low elevation was caused by a change in the shape of the earth since its formation. This theory is neither strained nor far-fetched. Like good circumstantial evidence, it fits the facts wherever they appear. It calls for no new dynamics.

A condition of unstable equilibrium prevails upon the land surface everywhere, though most commonly noted on the seashore where a supposed unchanging water level exists. It does violence to no known facts of geology to suppose that an elevation of the bed of the river below Nanticoke after the Wyoming canyon was formed may have caused the whole phenomenon we are studying.

This theory is thoroughly in consonance with present geological principles, but coming from an amateur, the first comment it will elicit will be, "All bosh." Later, "I always told you so." Finally it will be accepted, but will probably not be credited to this Society.

THE FRENCH AT ASYLUM.

The following very entertaining paper by Rev. David Craft, of Angelica, N. Y., is intended to be a supplement to his first paper on the subject, entitled "The French at Asylum," read before this Society, January 14, 1898, and published in the "Proceedings and Collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," Vol. V, 1900.

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Since then the handsome volume entitled "The Story of some French Refugees and their 'Azilum,' 1793-1800," by Mrs. Louise Welles Murray, secretary of the Tioga Point Historical Society, and a descendant of some of these Refugees has been published, adding much new material to, and throwing much new light on, the fascinating history of this romantic tale of suffering.

And yet the subject has not been exhausted. Doubtless much more interesting data could be secured by having access to the French Archives of the date of the Asylum venture. We are indebted to the kindness of Mrs. Murray for the use of the map which prefaces this paper.

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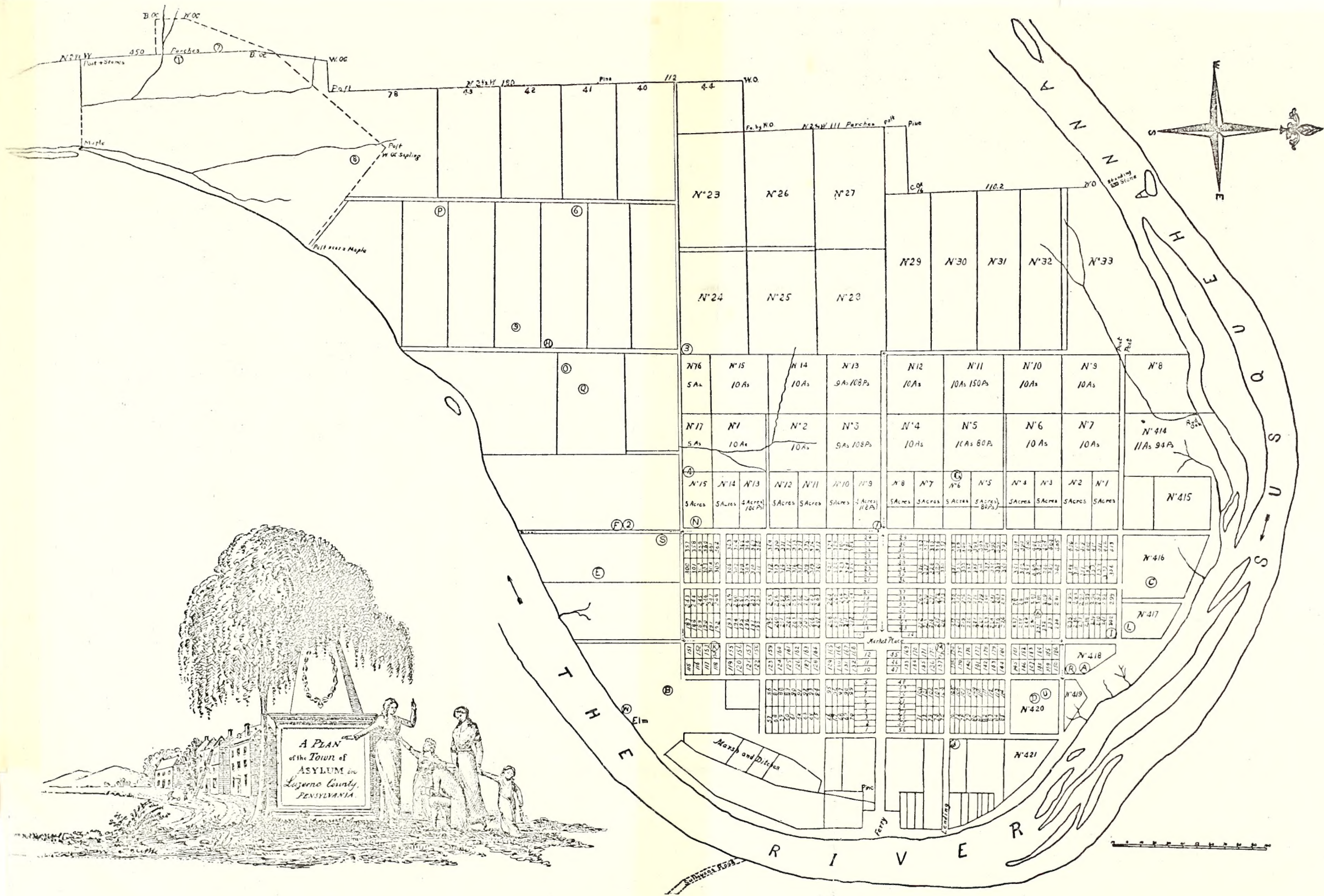
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Houses built or inhabited by the French, location indicated on the map by letters. a, Talon; b, probable Boulogne; c, Sibert; d, Schufeldt, afterwards French; e, Wheeler; f, French, later A. P. Biles; g, French, later J. Biles; h, Homet; i, French, later Van Gorder; j, French, later Miller; k, French, later R. B. Kerrick; l, Cottineau; m, French, later Morey; n, French, later Gordon; o, F. X. Homet, now standing; p, French, near C. Steven's barn; q, French, near Baron's house; r, House now standing built by Judge Laporte 1839, now Hagerman, visible from river, close to site of house of Talon; s, House now occupied by George Laporte; t, French Still House; u, Aubrey's Smith Shop; w, location of Kerrick's famous camp, 1900; all original streets now used as roads are marked on map with arrows.

Cemeteries. Beginning with date of settlement up to present day, nine cemeteries have been established within original plot of Asylum, most of them afterward abandoned. They are indicated by enclosed figures, the headstones are all gone from the earliest ones. 1, Old French; 2, abandoned about 1812; 3, abandoned about 1830; 4, Gordon family plot; 5 Laporte, first used 1836; 6, Homet, first used 1838; 7, Braun; 8, Gilbert; 9, in use 1903 at Methodist Church. [By permission of Mrs. Louise Welles Murray, from "The Story of Some French Refugees and their 'Azilum,' 1793-1800."]

A DAY AT ASYLUM.

BY

REV. DAVID CRAFT, D. D.

READ BEFORE THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY NOV. 14, 1902.

In a paper, which was entitled "The French Settlement at Asylum," read in this place nearly five years ago, mention was made of the survey of the "Town plat" on which the settlement at Asylum was to be located, and a general description of the "plan" was given. It was known that a map of this survey had been made by French engineers on which the several lots were both described and numbered, since conveyances of some of those lots were designated by their numbers and not by lines of survey or adjoinders.

There are some among the elderly people now living who remember to have seen this old map, and the late Hon. B. Laporte had a partial copy of it made, but the copy lacked many details of the original whose whereabouts no one could tell. It had been traced to the possession of the late C. L. Ward of Towanda, Pa., whence nothing further could be ascertained. The library of Mr. Ward had come into the possession of Lafayette College, his personal effects sold at public auction, and it was supposed the old map was irretrievably lost. Its recovery is due to the persistent energy of Mr. John A. Biles of Homet's Ferry, Pa., a land surveyor and civil engineer, and an antiquarian of no inconsiderable ability. Mr. Biles having occasion to call upon Col. John A. Coddington of Towanda, the conversation turned upon historical matters, when Col. Coddington remarked that he had a book-case bought at the auction of C. L. Ward's personal property. This led to a more careful examination of the contents of the desk, and lo! at the bottom of a

drawer was found the long lost and much sought for French map of Asylum, with the inscription written across the back of it: "Original map of the old French Town of Asylum, from Hon. John Laporte, 1861." Being apprised by Mr. Biles of his "Find," and that the map was in his possession, arrangements were made to visit Asylum, and with the map in hand attempt to locate on the ground the more important buildings and places.

Meeting Mr. Biles by appointment at Homet's Ferry, a station on the Lehigh Valley Railroad, the matter of first interest was a careful inspection of the map itself. It is about a yard square, beautifully executed, and embracing within its lines a little more than 1600 acres of land. The paper is broken along the lines where it had been folded, but having been carefully backed with muslin, each piece is kept in its proper position. In the lower left-hand corner is a finely executed pen picture in which Asylum is represented by the well protected home of Liberty to which the exiles are coming for refuge and clinging for protection. It was at first thought that photographic copies of the map could be obtained, but upon submitting the matter to a photographer, it was found that the paper is discolored by age, and the fine lines and lettering have become somewhat indistinct, and so faded as to render the project impracticable. Mr. Biles has, therefore, made an exact copy of the map, and also indicated upon it the location of some of the most important buildings.

The map also corrects some errors into which tradition has fallen, and which have been repeated by successive writers during the last half century. Though departing somewhat from the order of investigation, some of these corrections may now be noted.

It has been reported that the streets upon the town plat were opened fifty feet in width, but the map indicates that they were sixty-six feet wide, except the one extending

eastward through the market place to the river, which was one hundred feet wide. Parts of these streets are still used by the people who live at Asylum as the boundaries of their farms and as public highways, although their width has been much reduced. The broad street is the present southern boundary of the Morely estate and the northern line of the Gordon, Laporte and R. B. Kerrick farms. At the foot of this street the French people maintained a ferry, the landing place for which on the east side of the river was just above where the Sullivan road came to the river. This road had been built only fifteen years before the settlement, and was the only highway through the country at the time. For many years this was known as the "French Ferry." A street parallel to the one last described is at the north of the Morley house, and also extended to the river. At the foot of this street was a wharf for convenience in loading and unloading the Durham boats, which, when the river was open, were the principal vehicles of transportation.

It has been said that the upper street, along which many of the log houses were located, has since been washed away by the river. This is also a mistake. Actual measurements, from data furnished by the map, disprove the story that a large tract of valuable land has been lost, while the large original timber that covers the river bank from the Standing Stone to Homet's Ferry, except at the "landing," confirms the evidence of the surveys.

East of the George Gordon lot is a field which has been called the "Market Square lot," said to contain about sixty acres, and to have been laid out for the use of the town. The map, however, reduces these magnificent distances to a plat twenty-five rods north and south by thirteen rods east and west, and containing but a trifle more than two acres.

Those who are familiar with the geology of the North Branch have observed a striking similarity in the structure of the "flats." These flats are composed of a deep rich allu-

vium divided by a belt of light gravelly soil nearly parallel with the river, varying in width with the width of the flats and from thirty to fifty feet in depth. One comes upon this gravel belt at Asylum just on crossing a little brook a few rods north of Moody's store, and it extends northward to Hagermans, and covers more than half the area between the river and the hills. The "city lots," which are for the most part four rods in width or street front by twenty rods in depth, containing a half acre each, and four hundred and thirteen in number, are laid upon this gravel ridge, and do not come nearer than twenty or thirty rods of the river at any point, that strip of deep, rich soil being left for cultivation. The remaining portion of the town plat was divided into "out lots" varying in size from three to forty acres each, but the most of them containing five, ten or twenty acres each.

With this general idea of the "lay of the land," we start out to locate more exactly some of the places with whose names we have become somewhat familiar. Crossing the river at Homet's Ferry, Homet's mill, the Homet homestead and other Homet belongings remind us that we are on the premises of one of the pioneers of this strange colony. When the French people abandoned Asylum, the Company, who had given very few if any titles to their lands, advertised them for sale, and by "Power of Attorney" authorized Bartholomew Laporte to sell those at Asylum. Eventually Mr. Laporte purchased the upper part of the town and Mr. Homet a large portion of the lower part.

As we are leisurely riding along toward his early possessions, and about to cross the ferry, perhaps, although at the expense of anticipating a part of our trip, we may briefly tell the story, so full of serious romance, as indeed is the whole story of Asylum, of one who, by himself and by his posterity, has left his impress upon the southern portion of Bradford county.

Charles Homet was born, probably in or near Paris, Au-

gust 15, 1769. Of his parentage and early life nothing has been learned. About the time of the French Revolution he was attached to the royal household, some say as page to the king, others as a steward, others as cook to the royal family. All agree, however, that his occupation, whatever it was, brought him into close relations with the king's household. In that general political and social upheaval in France known as the "Revolution," the first demand was for limiting the king's prerogative, then for a constitutional monarchy, then for the life of the unfortunate king and of all who sympathised with him in maintaining the royal authority.

To such an extent did the popular madness prevail that the protection of laws and courts, and the forms of judicial procedure were set aside. It was enough in many cases to charge one with being in sympathy with royalty to condemn him practically unheard to the guillotine. Multitudes of royal sympathizers, of the nobility and of the clergy fled the country in every possible way, leaving everything behind them. Mr. Homet's connection with the royal household would naturally make him an object of popular suspicion, and when in the autumn of 1792 the king became actually the prisoner of the Assembly, the attaches of the household sought safety in flight. Mr. Homet fled to some seaport on the Bay of Biscay, where in secret he awaited the sailing of an American ship for the United States.

The ship in which he had engaged passage was to leave the wharf on a certain morning. Mr. Homet had placed his effects on board, but staid the night with friends on shore with whom he had been in hiding. The next morning what was his surprise and disappointment to find the ship had left her moorings and was riding at anchor five miles out toward the ocean. His case was desperate. Already the place of his hiding had been discovered. The officers of the Assembly were on his track, and in a few hours he would

be in their clutches and with his head would pay for his fealty to his royal master who had just himself been led to the guillotine. With hardly a moment's reflection he plunged into the sea and swam the entire distance to the ship, upon which, more dead than alive, he was taken by sailors and friends.

On the same vessel was a lady nearly ten years his senior, whose escape, it has been said, was aided by Mr. Homet, by the name of Maria Theresa Schillenger, a native of Strasburg, Germany, where she was born in 1760. Her father, a man of some estate and a merchant in his native city, sent his daughter to Paris to complete her education and to acquire the accomplishments needed for polite society. Here her great personal beauty and polished manners attracted attention, and she was induced to become maid-in-waiting to the unfortunate Marie Antoinette. The downfall of royalty involved her in the ruin, and made flight imperative. The fact that she was a woman gave her no protection, for in that reign of terror neither age, sex nor condition was spared. During the three or four months' voyage the acquaintance between herself and Mr. Homet ripened into a closer attachment, so that on their landing at Bordentown, N. J., they were soon married at a place called Bottle Hill in New Jersey. For several months Mr. Homet remained in the neighborhood of Bordentown, when hearing of the colony at Asylum, he made his way thither, arriving at the settlement in the spring or early summer of 1794.

It will be remembered that the Asylum Land Company had secured warrants of survey for a million acres of land, extending southwesterly from Asylum through Sullivan as far as the West Branch in Lycoming county. It was hoped that the sale of these lands would enable the company to perfect their title, and contribute no little to the support of the colonists and the cultivation of their farms.

After completing the houses for the shelter of the unfor-

tunate exiles, Mr. Talon, who had been placed in charge of affairs at Asylum, directed his first attention to the opening of a road through these lands, for the purpose of bringing them into market and opening them for settlement. About ten miles of this road, which is neither straight nor level, but well constructed, were opened the first year. This road is still the highway from Asylum through New Albany to Dushore. It was kept upon the lands of the company for whose benefit it was built.

While it was well known in this country that the unfortunate French King had been executed January 21, 1793, several months before the settlement at Asylum was begun, it was thought that the life of the Queen would be spared, and the colonists were in high hopes that some of the numerous plans by which she might be brought to this country would ultimately succeed. With this in view, a beautiful spot on the French road, eight miles south from Asylum, had been selected for her residence, where suitable buildings were to be erected. This was near the northern boundary of what is still known as the Hiram Stone farm, now owned by a Mr. Hensel. On the arrival of Mr. Homet at Asylum, it was thought his former occupation made him well acquainted with the needs of the royal family, and so he was put in charge of the erection of the buildings and of the other improvements to be made for the comfort of the royal lady.

Several acres of land were speedily cleared, stumps removed, fences built, a number of log houses erected, which were intended to accommodate workmen and servants; a large "bake-house" was built on the east, the lower side of the road, which contained ample store- and work-rooms, and in the rear of which were two large brick ovens, whose mouths opened into the main room of the house, and whose throats were connected with a great chimney whose huge fire-place occupied the space between them. This building

has latterly been mistaken for the "Queen's house." The foundations of it and the ovens and chimney have only recently been removed and laid into a near-by stone wall. The Queen's house, or palace, was begun a few rods south, but on the same side of the road as the bake-house. Until a few years since a cluster of Lombardy poplars indicated the site of it. This was to have been built of squared, planed logs, its numerous rooms and halls of ample proportions, and in every way adapted to the comfort of her for whom it was designed. It was intended to be the finest house in America. It was a number of months after the execution of the unfortunate Queen before the word reached Asylum. Of course work on the buildings was immediately suspended, and the remnants of the unfinished structure remained for more than half a century the mute but eloquent witnesses in this far-off land to the loyalty and devotion of these French refugees to their unhappy royal mistress.

Mr. Homet remained at this West Terry settlement, as it has since been called, for two years, removing in 1796 back to Asylum, and occupying a house near where his son Francis X. subsequently lived. When the settlement was abandoned, Mr. Homet was one of the few who saw the possibilities of this new land, and resolved to seek his fortune here. He invested quite largely at Asylum and became one of the prominent farmers of the neighborhood.

Mr. Homet was twice married: to Maria Theresa Schilling in May, 1793, to whom were born four children.

Charles F., born May 4, 1794; married Lucy Stevens September 24, 1817. She was the daughter of the late Hon. Jonathan Stevens, and was born August 20, 1799, and died March 8, 1851. To them were born eight sons and one daughter; the daughter was the wife of the late Philemon Stone of Wyalusing. Charles Jr. died in Asylum August 20, 1864. The sons were among the prominent farmers and enterprising citizens of Wyalusing township.

Harriet T. Burleigh & Son, Asylum, N. H.

March 2, 1821; married Sarah, daughter of Hon. Jonathan Stearns, of Newburyport, Mass. She died in Asylum, N. H., where she died October 3, 1847. To them were born two sons and three daughters.

Frank, second son of Charles B., was born on the old Homer homestead in Asylum, April 1, 1823; married Lucy Jane Deane, daughter of Dr. Charles Deane of Tarrytown, N. Y., and the Rev. Dr. Charles Deane of Newburyport, Mass. They lived and died together in Asylum, N. H., where she died April 13, 1842. By them were born three children.

Joseph, third son of Charles B., was born in Asylum, N. H., where he died in 1851. He married a daughter of Dr. Charles Deane of Tarrytown, N. Y., and the Rev. Dr. Charles Deane of Newburyport, Mass.

Maria, first daughter of Charles B., married Hon. Homer Burleigh, of Newburyport, Mass. She was born a daughter of Dr. Charles Deane of Tarrytown, N. Y., and the Rev. Dr. Charles Deane of Newburyport, Mass. To them were born three children: a daughter, a son, and a daughter. The first two are both dead, and the third is now in Asylum, N. H., where she died in 1851.

Charles, fourth son of Charles B., was born in Asylum, N. H., where he died in 1851. He married a daughter of Dr. Charles Deane of Tarrytown, N. Y., and the Rev. Dr. Charles Deane of Newburyport, Mass.

While we have been looking at the old homestead, the ferryman has been waiting for us on the river. We pass the ruins of the old homestead, which for two generations have been a landmark on the river, but recently burned; by the home of Charles Burleigh, Jr., now owned by his son Joseph, and looking northward the whole plain of Asylum stretches out before us. The scene is a beautiful one. Farm houses, the commodious barns and well cultivated fields must be in strong contrast with the low houses, narrow door yards and

Robert D. Appleton

Frenchmen a century ago. As we are about to enter the old place we are soon on the busy travelled road up the

Harriet T., the only daughter of Charles Sr., was born March 2, 1801; married Simon, son of Hon. Jonathan Stevens, October 17, 1822, and lived in Standing Stone, Pa., where she died October 8, 1847. To them were born two sons and three daughters.

Francis X., second son of Charles Sr., was born on the old Homet homestead in Asylum, April 5, 1798; married Lucy Jane Dodge, a granddaughter of Major Oliver Dodge of Terrytown, June 24, 1828. They had no children. They lived and died upon the old Homet homestead, she dying April 13, 1834, he July 27, 1890.

Joseph, third and youngest son of Charles Sr., was born in Asylum, married Orrice Brown, and lived in Monroeton, Pa., where she died July 2, 1865, and he February 26, 1880.

Maria Theresa Schillinger died January 3, 1823, and Mr. Homet married, second, in 1827, Cynthia Sickler, to whom was born a daughter, Lydia Homet, who became the wife of Eleazer T. Fox, a Bradford county banker. They had one child, a daughter, who died unmarried. Mr. and Mrs. Fox are both dead. She died April 19, 1886; he, December, 1888.

Charles Homet, Sr., after his second marriage, moved into Wysox, where he died December 29, 1838.

While we have been telling the story of the Homet family, the ferryman has pushed our boat across the river. We pass the ruins of the Homet's mills, which for two generations have been a landmark on the river, but recently burned; by the home of Charles Homet, Jr., now owned by his son Joseph, and looking northward the whole plain of Asylum stretches out like a picture before us. The large, well-kept farm houses, the commodious barns and well cultivated fields must be in strong contrast with the log houses, narrow door yards and diminutive gardens of the homesick Frenchmen a century ago. As we drive along toward the Gilbert place we are soon on the main travelled road up the

river. Just below the road, at a little burying ground called the Braund cemetery, is an oat field from which the crop had just been taken. Here, a century ago, was a place of considerable activity, although a mile and a half from the principal settlements, for here was maintained a brewery for the manufacture of malt liquors. In the spring of 1795 Asylum was visited by the Duke de la Rochefoucauld de Liancourt, who published his observations entitled "Travels in the United States," &c. I shall refer to the second London edition, 1800, translated by H. Newman, simply as the "Duke." He said that the people were then contemplating making an "attempt at the brewing of malt-liquor."

Accordingly the outflow of several springs which burst out at the foot of the hill along the present highway were brought together, which furnished abundant water for the purpose; a suitable building erected and the necessary appliances secured, and during that same year (1795) were set at work. It was in contemplation to make considerable enlargement of the place, but the unexpected breaking up of the settlement brought the plans to a sudden termination. The old brewery disappeared years ago, but the oat stubble marks the place where it stood as distinctly as when its walls were yet standing, and indicate a building about seventy-five feet by forty feet in dimensions and three rods from the center of the highway.

A few rods beyond the Gilbert place we are on the old French road to the Loyal Sock. Passing "Moody's," where Ulysses Moody had a store and postoffice and carried on a thriving business in lumber and farm produce for two generations, and where his son Nathaniel Peasely has taken up his father's occupation, we soon reach the old Homet homestead.

A little M. E. Church by the roadside, with its accompanying sheds and God's acre, the well-appointed farm house near by with its orchards and barns and gardens,

where Francis X. Homet, second son of the emigrant, spent his long life of nearly ninety-two years, and where there are the abundant tokens of his thrift and enterprise, remind us that we are on the borders of one of the most fascinating spots of the old Keystone State. Here was one of the Frenchmen's homes. If he was less afraid than some to soil his hands and clothing with manual labor, if he saw possibilities to be developed by toil in these pine woods, if he had the self-control to deny himself the frivolities of the gay and thoughtless, and the patience to wait for the ripening fruit of his toil and lay broad and strong foundations for the prosperity of his descendants for the third and fourth generation, the country is the better for his foresight and patience. Continuing our way up the French road we soon reach a street crossing it at right angles and are reminded that we are on the town plat of Asylum, and our road is at an end. Henceforth we will follow its streets, or such portions of them as the people here require for their use. It was hoped our old French map would have indicated the names by which these streets were designated, but here we were doomed to disappointment.

On the north side of this street has stood for many years a school-house, used also, until the church was built, as a place for public worship on the Sabbath, and which was preceded by a log school-house in the vicinity. Whether this log school-house owed its existence to French or American enterprise cannot now with certainty be told. The Duke said a school-house was one of the things the settlement needed in 1795. But we must remember that from the nature of things there were few children in the French families. They were mostly composed of people who fled for their lives, not infrequently who had brought upon themselves suspicions of loyalty to their king and were marked for the guillotine, and who left everything behind them. Some were church dignitaries, some army offi-

cers, some members of families of the nobility—all more interested in providing for their own safety and happiness than in providing for the education of their children. The case was different with the American families who had come amongst them as laborers and artisans. These usually contained numerous children who soon demanded schools for their use. Whether these were provided by the French is extremely doubtful. In the *Wilkes-Barre Gazette* for January, 1801, Mr. John Prevost advertises his intention to open a school for instruction in the French language, but with this exception I am unable to learn that any school whatever was opened during the existence of the colony.

Just in the rear of the school-house is a cemetery where a considerable number of interments have been made. Asylum abounds in cemeteries. This is one of at least five or six where Americans are buried. It has seemed to be the favorite place for them in which to lay away their dead, as though its beautiful plains were a sweet reminder of that more beautiful country where we all hope to find our dead "after life's fitful fever is over." A few rods to the eastward and we come upon the westerly north and south street of the "city plat," which we follow until we reach the broad street. Here in the southwest angle of the street which is the northeast corner of the George Gordon farm, was the French cemetery. Here within the memory of some still living were the marks of some eighteen or twenty graves; but the white boards which bore the names and marked the resting place of the occupants have long since disappeared, and the ruthless plowshare of the stranger many years ago obliterated the very last vestige of this last resting place of the forgotten dead. Among those buried here were M. W. Prevost, of whom the Duke says he was "a citizen of Paris, celebrated there for his benevolence, where he was a member of all benevolent societies, treasurer of the philanthropic society, and retired to America with some

property, a considerable part of which he expended on a settlement which he attempted to establish on the banks of the Susquehanna, but which did not eventually succeed.* He now cultivates his lot of ground on the Loyal Sock as if his whole life had been devoted to the same pursuit; and the cheerful serenity of a gentle, candid, philosophical mind still attends him in his laborious retreat. His wife and sister-in-law, who have also settled here, share in his tranquillity and his happiness." Later, Mr. Prevost, while on horseback attempting to ford the Loyal Sock, greatly swollen by recent rains, was drowned. His body was recovered, brought to Asylum and buried in the little cemetery on the Broad street.

A man, whose name I have been unable to learn, crazed by homesickness and in despair over his forlorn condition, went out one evening into the dark forest and hanged himself with a silk handkerchief. His body was found the next day and also interred in the same cemetery.

Among the conspicuous characters at Asylum was Charles Felix Bué Boulogne. He was a native of Paris, and during our struggle for independence became one of our enthusiastic admirers, and was one of that large number of young Frenchmen who came to this country with Lafayette and offered to us his services in the contest. After the war, having become proficient in our language, and acquainted with the country and its great advantages, he determined to remain in it. Messrs. Malachi Treat and William W. Morris secured the title to a tract of several thousand acres of land in Otsego county and gave to Mr. Boulogne a power of attorney, dated June 16, 1791, to sell, and a commission to return to Paris and dispose of the land in such parcels as he could, to those who were contemplating to escape the troubles of their own country by migrating to this. Having disposed to several parties a large part of this land, he re-

* Mr. Prevost bought land at the Butternuts of M. Boulogne.

turned to this country in June, 1793, in the same ship which brought the d'Autremonts and Mr. Lefevre, landing in Philadelphia in the autumn of the same year. After assisting Mrs. d'Autremont to her farm and in building her little log house, he returned to Philadelphia, where his knowledge of our language and customs made him very useful to Mr. Talon.

In the early days of Asylum he conducted a large part of the correspondence with the Americans, and seemed to be the general manager of the business. Sometime about 1795 Mr. Boulogne went to the West Indies. A well authenticated tradition in the d'Autremont family is as follows: Becoming convinced that their title to the Butternut lands was worthless, Alexander d'Autremont set out in pursuit of Boulogne to endeavor to recover a part of the money they had expended for lands of a worthless title. On the passage the vessel was overtaken in a storm and wrecked. d'Autremont reached land safely, but was seized with yellow fever, from which he nearly lost his life. As soon as he sufficiently recovered he made his way back to Asylum, remarking he thought more of his life than the Butternuts. Boulogne bought on his own account the Gen. Simon Spalding farm, on the east side of the Susquehanna, where he probably lived and where he died in 1795 or 1796, and was buried in the little consecrated lot on Broad street, at Asylum.

Of the others I know of no one who can give a name or date, but should not some one have sufficient regard for these persecuted exiles to see that a suitable permanent mark be made to designate the resting place of so many of them? Of those who remained after the disruption of the colony none were buried in this cemetery; the first two generations of Laportes are buried on a family plot overlooking the Susquehanna opposite Rummerfield, the Homets near the little church at Asylum, Mr. and Mrs. Lefevre in the cemetery at Wyalusing, and Madame d'Autremont and her

two sons and sister in the beautiful cemetery at Angelica, New York.

Probably, according to French custom, the little log chapel erected for religious services stood near the cemetery, although its exact location cannot now be determined. All of the colonists were of the Roman Catholic faith and members of the French State Church. Here were observed, according to the rules of worship in that church, the usual religious services appointed for Sabbath and holy days. Here were administered the sacraments and all other prescribed observances. At this time it is very difficult to understand who the clergy were and what relation they observed toward each other in the religious administration of the colony. Like the others they had fled for their lives, and the religious establishments having been sequestered by the state, the usual sources of their income were wanting.

Here they were compelled to devote their time and strength, like others, to cultivate the soil for a livelihood or engage in other secular business, and some of them seem to have abandoned their ecclesiastical offices and obligations and devoted the remainder of their lives to business pursuits. Besides quite a number of secular church dignitaries, the one holding the most important ecclesiastical position in France was Mancy Colin, where he was Abbé de Sevigné and Archdeacon of Tours. In Asylum he was partner with M. Blacons in a store. What station he held in the church is not certainly known, but that he did not entirely abandon his ecclesiastical dignities seems evident from the fact that on the breaking up of the colony he went to St. Domingo and became chaplain in the army of Touissaint L'Overture. On the surrender to Napoleon, June 10, 1802, he fled to Charleston, S. C., and died there soon after. The officiating priest was M. Carles, who, says the Duke, was "a priest and canon of Guernsey, who retired to America with a small

fortune, and who is now settled at Asylum; he is an industrious and much respected farmer." M. Carles was assisted in his duties by a priest of whom nothing but his name, Father Fromenti, is known.

The little chapel was also now and then the scene of a christening or a wedding, which contributed to the variety and enjoyment of the social life of the village. Probably the first event of the latter kind was the solemnization of the marriage of Lucretius de Blacons and Mademoiselle de Maulde. The groom held the noble rank of Marquis. He had been a Deputy for Dauphiné in the Constituent Assembly, where, like de Noailles, he stood with the conservative Republicans, had been one of the constitutional advisers of the Executive, and, like de Noailles also, had incurred the displeasure of Robespierre, and was obliged to flee to this country. At Asylum, in partnership with Mancy Colin, he had a haberdasher's shop. The bride had been canoness of the chapter of Bonbourg. The high standing of the parties invested their marriage with unusual interest and made it an occasion of feasting and merriment rarely witnessed in this town in the woods. The Marquis was the host of the Duke de la Rochefoucauld during his stay at Asylum, and accompanied him on his horseback ride to Niagara Falls. He returned to France, re-entered politics and became a member of the National Assembly.

Two brothers, Augustine and Francis de la Roue, were partners with Mr. Becdelière in another store at Asylum. The younger brother, Francis, who had been an infantry captain in France, married, at Asylum, Mademoiselle de Bercy, a sister of Madame Seybert, and a cousin of Baron James Montullé, who was superintendent of clearings. In 1795, the Duke says they intended to establish an inn at the settlement in West Terry, but returned to France with Talleyrand.

As is commonly the case with emigrants, some of the

young Frenchmen formed alliances matrimonial with the "daughters of the land," and the bringing home of their brides were occasions of rejoicing and merry-makings, with feasting and music and dancing.

A Mr. Beaulieu was formerly a captain of infantry in the French service. Inspired, like other young Frenchmen, by the story of America's heroic struggle to free herself from the domination of France's hereditary enemy, he joined the body of volunteers, entered the legion of Pulaski under Lafayette, and after the war was over determined to remain in the country whose freedom he had fought to achieve. He had recently married, in 1795, and with his wife was keeping an inn at Asylum. The name seems with this incident to disappear from our records. [Appendix A.]

On reaching his majority in the spring of 1797, Alexander Hubert, second son of Madame d'Autremont, married Abigail, daughter of Major Oliver Dodge of Terrytown, a settlement four or five miles down the river, below Asylum. As there will be occasion to speak of the d'Autremonts later, further notice is deferred until the account of the family is given.

Bartholomew Laporte married, in the little chapel in Asylum, December 11, 1797, Elizabeth, daughter of John Franklin, of English birth. Another of Mr. Franklin's daughters married Edmund Dodge, brother of the wife of Alexander d'Autremont; and another daughter married Nathaniel Terry of Terrytown, Pennsylvania. The name of Laporte has been common in France for the past two and a half centuries, but at this date and from present data it is impossible to connect with certainty our family with any of them. The late Hon. Bartholomew Laporte said there was a tradition that his grandfather's father was a school teacher in Paris and met a violent death. In Guizot's History of France, Alden's Edition, 1885, Vol. VI, p. 97, is the following: August 11, 1792. "Already a poor professor of lan-

guages, the intendant of the civil list, Laporte, * * had died courageously on the scaffold, the first fruits of an innumerable series of victims." If there was no relationship, certainly there is a striking coincidence. Bartholomew Laporte, the emigrant, was born at Tulli, France, in 1758. He is said to have spoken of himself as engaged in mercantile pursuits at Marsailles in early life. Later the tradition is that for a time he was a wine-merchant in Cadiz, Spain, at the time of the revolution, when he immediately embarked for America; but this is probably an error. Benjamin S. Russell, a man of the highest personal reliability, was a partner with the late Hon. John Laporte in Towanda in the banking business, and so had the best means of knowing, in a reported conversation with Judge Laporte, learned that Omer Talon, on whose head a price had been set, escaped from Paris to "Marseilles, where was an American ship about to sail for the United States, on which he engaged passage; while waiting its departure, he met and engaged a young man as his valet and confidential servant."

He was not so very young, being thirty-five years of age. This, while it throws very serious doubt upon the previous sea voyage, does confirm the story of former employment in Marseilles. Under the circumstances of great personal danger to which he was then exposed, it is not at all likely that Mr. Talon would have risked his life to the care of a stranger upon whose tact and fidelity he must entirely depend. It seems, therefore, reasonable to infer that Mr. Laporte had spent several years at Marseilles, where he was well known to the friends of Mr. Talon as a man of courage, tact and fidelity, upon whose judgment and honor the utmost reliance could be placed. Mr. Russell adds that "while thus waiting for the vessel to sail, he [Talon] found that he had been followed by the emisaries of his enemies.*

* This is substantially the same account as was given me by Mrs. Prevost, daughter of Anthony Lefevre, who distinctly remembered hearing the incident frequently related.

With the aid of his faithful and new-found valet and friends he was put into a large cask and carried on board the vessel and secreted in the hold, where he was kept until the vessel sailed," when he was released by Mr. Laporte. Here at Asylum Mr. Laporte assumed no airs, but with the same trustworthiness and honor which characterized his relations with Mr. Talon, went about the daily tasks that came to his hand. Another incident related by Mr. Russell indicates that Mr. Talon was neither unmindful of nor ungrateful to his tried and faithful valet. At one of his entertainments at which the Governor had distinguished guests, his butler having imbibed too freely of his master's wine, spilled the soup upon one at the table. This was not his first, nor his second offence for which he had been sharply reprimanded.

Mr. Talon at once sent for Laporte to come to him and said, "Will you be my butler?" Mr. Laporte replied by pleading for the forgiveness of the offender; but Mr. Talon stopped him by saying: "He cannot hold his position longer; will you take it?" "Yes," said Laporte, and soon rose to places of higher responsibility as he more and more won the confidence of the Governor. What these places were, or whether he continued in the employ of Mr. Talon during the continuance of the colony, cannot now be known. Under date of July 3, 1807, the Asylum Company gave to Mr. Laporte a general power of attorney to manage and dispose of the property at Asylum according to his judgment. Mr. Laporte, by several conveyance, became the owner of four hundred and seventy-eight acres of the upper portion of the Asylum lands, upon which he lived as one of the most thrifty farmers in the vicinity, and where his eventful life closed, February 11, 1836, at the age of 78 years. His wife, Elizabeth Franklin, who was twenty-three years his junior, survived him sixteen years, dying May 5, 1852, at the age of 71 years. Mr. Laporte was elected county commissioner in 1819, and re-elected in 1821. To them was born only one

child, a son, the late Hon. John Laporte, November 4, 1798, and who, about the middle of the last century, was one of the most prominent citizens of the county. Physically of unusually large proportions, he was the most conspicuous person to be met on the streets. For nearly a quarter of a century he was continuously holding some important public office.

He was elected county auditor in 1827, and re-elected the following year; he was member of the Assembly from 1829 to 1832, the latter year being Speaker of the House; in 1834 he was elected member of Congress, and re-elected in 1836; from 1837 to 1845 he was Associate Judge of the courts of Bradford county, and from 1845 to 1851 Surveyor General of the State of Pennsylvania. Afterwards he became associated with Gordon F. Mason and Benjamin S. Russell in the banking firm of Laporte, Mason, Russell & Co., in Towanda, Pa., which continued until his death, August 22, 1862. Mr. Laporte was twice married; first to Matilda, daughter of Dr. Jabez Chamberlain, who bore him three children; Elizabeth, who was married to the late C. F. Welles, Jr., of Athens, and sons Bartholomew and Samuel McKean. Mrs. Laporte was born February 25, 1796, and died August 5, 1838. Mr. Laporte married, second, Elizabeth Caldwell, who survived him.

While we have been recounting the incidents of the little log chapel and of the Laporte family, our horse has jogged along and now stopped to drink at the capacious watering-trough that stands by the Laporte mansion, a large two-story white house, conspicuously observable from the trains on the Lehigh Valley Railroad, a little below Rummerfield station. We are now at the very center of the social and business activity of Asylum during its French occupation. Eight rods above and in nearly the same line as the mansion stood the "Great House," as it was called, occupied by Mr. Talon. Like almost everything else pertaining to this

strange people and their settlement, nearly every newspaper scribbler has felt called upon to supply the place of facts with the products of his own imagination, it is so much easier. Consequently any number of unreliable descriptions have found their way into the public prints.

The house stood on lot 418 on the map, and at the north end of the first north and south street east of the "market square." It has latterly been called by some "the King's house;" but the King had been guillotined a year before a log for the house had been cut, and every one connected with the colony knew it. Others have spoken of it as "the palace," and others as "the Queen's house," but as we have seen, "the Queen's house" was begun in West Terry and never completed. This was usually called "the Great House;" sometimes "the Talon house," in honor of its distinguished occupant. It was the most pretentious building in this part of the country.

Constructed of immense pine logs, squared, planed on the horizontal surfaces, with glazed windows and shingled roof, it was eighty-four feet in length from north to south and sixty feet in width from east to west, and two stories in height, with a large attic, and twenty-four feet high to the eaves. Across the entire front or easterly side was a broad porch some eight or ten feet wide and two stories high.* A hall eight feet wide and extending the whole length of the house divided each floor into two parts; the east or front part of the lower floor contained a reception room twenty-four by forty feet and entered by folding doors from the porch; on either end of this were smaller rooms twenty-four by twenty-feet, while four rooms of equal size were on the west side of the hall. The upper floor was divided into a considerable number of smaller rooms, said to be twenty-five, but this probably included closets, used

* So said Dr. G. F. Horton to me a number of times. The doctor was in the practice of his profession in 1829, and the family physician of Hon. John Laporte when he lived in the Great House.

as guest chambers. Four chimney stacks, each with four large open fire places, afforded means of warming the rooms some of which were finely finished and hung with paper imported from France. The lower hall was entered through folding doors at each end, and communicated with the upper hall by two open staircases. The doors and staircases were made of cherry and finished with a polish that shone like a mirror.

In this house were entertained many persons whose names have become the most famous for this period of French history, like Louis Philippe and his two brothers, Talleyrand, the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, and others of almost equal celebrity. Here were held those councils in which were planned the various enterprises set on foot to promote the welfare of the colony, and here on winter evenings were often gathered the elite of the colony, who cheered their lonely hours with music and dancing, making the great reception room such a scene of gayety as had no parallel on the continent.

The great house was occupied by Mr. Talon while the colony existed, then it was the residence of Mr. Laporte until his death, when his son John lived in it until the erection of the mansion in 1835. For a time some part of the house was used as a store-room and some as a tenement until 1846, when it was torn down and some of the best logs built into a barn. The site of the old house is still easily recognized and the outlines of the foundations plainly visible. About one-third of a mile in a northwesterly direction is lot number 416, overlooking the river opposite and below Rummerfield, on which Madame Seybert lived, where was the horse mill, the nursery of nine hundred apple trees, etc. The trees have disappeared, except a walnut overhangs the spring; the little stream of water reaches the river through a tile drain, and a small framed tenement house has replaced the log house covered with "nailed shingles."

The lot in a southeasterly direction next the one on which the mansion stands is number 420. On this is the large red frame barn, and on the same lot stood Mr. Aubrey's blacksmith's shop and the house of Peter Scheufeldt, a prerevolutionary settler. Hard by was the log theater, one of the buildings of the first season, where, especially in winter, with such appliances as they had, high-titled nobles and their ladies practiced the histrionic art for the amusement of themselves and their neighbors. But few of the fifty houses which composed the village were on the "Town plat." It would be interesting if we could locate the Marquis de Blacon's store, or that of Mr. Becdelierre, or Mr. Lefevre's inn, but at present this seems impossible. In this neighborhood also lived Madame d'Autremont and her three sons, who figured quite conspicuously in the colony.

In one of the villages of France, not far from Paris, lived a family of considerable wealth and social position, although not of the nobility, consisting of three sons and three (possibly five) daughters, by the name of d'Ohet. Two of the sons were surgeons; one, Henri, lived at Dampierre, the other, Francois, at Gumblay, near Montfort. The third son, Augustus William, lived at Etampes, about thirty-five miles south of Paris, where he was a tapestry merchant and a proprietor of real estate. Of the three daughters, the eldest, Marie Jeane d'Ohet, born 1745, married Hubert d'Autremont February 5, 1770. He is said to have owned a shawl manufactory in Paris. The Duke says Mr. d'Autremont was "steward," whatever that may mean, and a man of considerable wealth and influence. He was a Royalist and lost his life amid the storms of the Revolution in 1789, at the age of fifty-eight. To them were born three sons, all baptized in the Church St. Sulspice in Paris, viz.: Louis Paul, born 1772, Alexander in 1776, and Augustus Francois in 1783. It has been said that the boys were present at the storming of the Bastile, but must have been too young to take any

active part in that memorable transaction. Mrs. d'Autremont owned in her own right a house and lot in Dampierre, which was confiscated by the French government after she came to this country, but was afterwards restored to her.

The second sister, Marie Genevieve d'Ohet, was born in 1752; married Anthony Bartholomew Louis Lefevre, to whom were born two sons and two daughters, one, Cecelia, born in Paris 1785, the other, Augustine, born in Paris 1787. Some have said that Mr. Lefevre was architect, others that he was the keeper of a fashionable café in Paris; the fact that he was from the first an innkeeper at Asylum favors the latter view. Both may be correct. His café was the favorite resort of those of royalistic sentiments, hence he early fell under the suspicion of holding like opinions, and deemed it wise to escape from France when he could.

The youngest of the d'Ohet sisters was Marie Claudine, born in 1758. In early life she entered a school for nuns in Paris, where she continued until in the whirlwind of the Revolution the religious establishments were broken up and the estates of the Church sequestered to public use. Later, Miss d'Ohet went to Nantes, from where, in December, 1806, she sailed for New York, thence went directly to her sister, Mrs. d'Autremont, in Angelica, N. Y., where her remaining days were spent, and where she died January 28, 1810, and is buried in the village cemetery at Angelica.

The following few sentences quoted from a letter of Louis Paul d'Autremont to his mother, dated Paris, June 22, 1806: "You ask for news of M. d'Autremont of the Rue de la Haze, but I thought that I told you he was dead, as well as his wife, before I left America [1795]; that my uncle and aunt of Crecy had also been dead for seven years. Finally, that the youngest child of Alexander d'Autremont married a cousin Fanny. As to the eldest, Augusté, I have not seen him. I only know that he is in the army, a Second Lieutenant in the Eighty-eighth Regiment. I know in gen-

eral very little of our old acquaintances." From this it would be inferred that Hubert, the husband of Madame d'Autremont, had at least three brothers, who, though not titled, yet were persons of means and of good social position in their native land.

By a patent dated August 13, 1787, Malachi Treat and William W. Morris secured title to a tract of land containing 15,360 acres lying on the Chenango River and Butternut Creek, called "the Butternuts," now in the southwestern part of Otsego county, N. Y. Already French refugees had begun to come to this country to find harbor from the storms of the Revolution, and suggested possible purchasers for this large tract of land. Accordingly, to Baron Charles Felix Bué Boulogne, who came to this country with Lafayette and had since remained here, was given a "Power of Attorney" authorizing him to sell and convey the land in such parcels as would suit the convenience of his purchasers.

In pursuance of this arrangement, Mr. Boulogne returned to Paris and offered to his friends coming to America farms which seemed to be marvellously cheap, and succeeded in disposing of 5400 acres of land, of which Madame d'Autremont and Mr. Lefevre each purchased 300 acres, to be surveyed to them in lots of 100 acres each. Arrangements were accordingly made by these two families to sail by the first opportunity to the United States. In applying for his passport Mr. Lefevre found that he must divide his family, half could come and half must stay. It was arranged that one son and one daughter should accompany the father and the other son and daughter remain with the mother. While waiting for the vessel to sail, the son who was to accompany the father sickened and died. Mr. Lefevre took the younger daughter, Augustine, afterward Mrs. Huff, who was to remain with her mother, cut her hair close and dressed her in her brother's clothes, when the likeness was sufficiently close to the dead boy to answer the description in the pass-

port, Mr. Lefevre thus taking both daughters and leaving the son with his mother. While waiting at Havre he writes to his wife expressing the weariness and loneliness of their lives, and adds: "We are well. The two children send you a thousand kisses. The little girls speak every day of thee and their brother, and ask each time if I am writing to you. * * I beg of you to embrace my son. I talk every day of you to our little girls."* There were many disagreeable and vexatious delays. One was the vessel drew so much water that she could only get over the bar at Havre at a favorable condition of the tide. Mr. Lefevre writes to his wife, June 11, 1792: "We are in very great anxiety. I apprised you in my last letter that we were to leave at the end of the week. They postponed the sailing until Tuesday, and Sunday at noon, coming from mass with our children, we learned through Mr Boulogne that we could not leave until a week from Tuesday, eight days, on account that the tide did rise not high enough and our vessel requires fourteen feet of water, and the tide will not be right till that time."† For the summer season the voyage was long and tedious. It is September 12th, about three months after the date of the above letter, that we find the party in Philadelphia, where, for the consideration of 5,400 livres, Mr. Boulogne executed a deed for three hundred acres of land to Mrs. d'Autremont, and for like consideration a similar deed to Mr. Lefevre, both of which were acknowledged before one of the Associate Justices of the United States Supreme Court. The party, accompanied by Mr. Boulogne, now set out for their farm in the midst of the dense unbroken forests of central New York. It is about the first of October before they reach the end of their journey. Owing to the lateness of the season nothing can be

* For this letter I am indebted to Mrs. M. M. Spalding of Towanda, Pa., a great-granddaughter.

† They sailed June 19, 1792.

done but build some kind of shelter for themselves until Spring. In this bark-covered, almost windowless log cabin, whose single room was kitchen, dining-room, pantry, drawing-room and parlor during the day, and for the night divided by hanging blankets into sleeping apartments, these two families, aggregating seven persons, who had been accustomed to the comforts and luxuries of a Parisian home, and unacquainted with the rigors of our northern climate, spent the winter of 1792-'3. It was an experience that was remembered with a shudder by every one who participated in it.

The Indians from a near-by reservation brought them provisions of various kinds, especially game taken in the hunt, otherwise they would have suffered from hunger. Mr. Boulogne had returned to Philadelphia, and left these strangers to our language and customs, in the midst of a great wilderness, far removed from other settlements, with only Indians for neighbors, and a one-roomed log house for shelter. A more forlorn condition can scarcely be imagined.

In the Spring Mr. Lefevre made himself a shelter of sticks, bark and pine branches, while the d'Autremont boys built adjoining sheds to enlarge the accommodations of their little house. But little could be done toward making clearings or getting in crops for the supply of their wants. And so passed the summer of 1793. Four other purchasers under Mr. Boulogne came upon the tract, but whether they remained to share the privations and rigors of winter is uncertain. In the meantime word is brought of the projected colony of Asylum, of the advantages which it offered and the people, their friends, of whom it was to be composed.

With the opening of the Spring, 1794, Louis Paul d'Autremont determined to go to Philadelphia to see if some more suitable place could not be obtained for their settlement. He stopped en route at Asylum, and made known to Mr. Talon the condition of his mother's and uncle's families. It was said of him that he "was among the first twenty-three

refugees who visited Asylum, where he was en route for Philadelphia August 19, 1793. He was at this time about twenty years old, could speak English, and was among the handsomest and most attractive men of his time."

Mr. Talon decided to send a Durham boat to the "Butternuts" and bring the families down to Asylum, where they arrived in the early Summer of 1794. They had been two eventful years to some of the party, to say the least; the long sea voyage, the tedious overland trip, with dismal roads and lumbering conveyances, from Philadelphia to central New York, the two winters spent cooped up in the little log cabin, the danger of want that stared them continually in the face, must ever have been for them a forlorn and dreary memory, a horrid nightmare in its reality.

About the time of their arrival at Asylum, Mrs. Lefevre and the remaining son came to join her husband and other children, and so the family which had been separated on the banks of the Seine, after two years of great anxiety and solicitude, was reunited on the banks of the Susquehanna. When the next year (1795) the Duke visited Asylum, he notes among the well known French families there Madame d'Autremont and her three children, and adds: "She is the widow of a *steward* at Paris. Two of her sons are grown up; one was a notary, and the other a watchmaker; but they have now become hewers of wood and tillers of the ground, and secure by their zeal, spirit and politeness and unblemished character the sympathy and respect of every feeling mind."

Mr. Lefevre, having sold his lands at Butternuts, continued to reside at Asylum or vicinity until the end of his life, and until prevented by the infirmities of age, continued the occupation of innkeeper. The state road, which is the main thoroughfare that follows the river valley, is on the east side of the river; Asylum, which is on the west side, was therefore not on the great highway of travel. After the abandon-

ment of the colony, Mr. Lefevre, therefore, went over the river and established his inn on Lime Hill, where it became widely known for its delicious table. Those who were frequently called to travel this highway, always planned to have at least one meal with Madame Lefevre, and more than once have I heard some of the older people speak with great gusto of her fragrant coffee and toothsome beefsteak.

Alexander Lefevre enlisted as a soldier in the war of 1812, and died of sickness in Carlisle, Pa.

Cecelia Lefevre was seven years old when she came to this country. She was married to John Anthony Prevost at Lime Hill in 1815. He was born in Paris, September 23, 1777, and at the age of twenty-three came to this country, reaching here August, 1800. Asylum at that time was in full activity, but it is not known that Mr. Prevost visited it then. Two brothers of his were with Napoleon on his Russian campaign, and were never heard of after the siege of Moscow. He came to Angelica, N. Y., in 1809, and while Judge Church was in England, superintended his farm and gardens. A few years later, while traveling through the country on horseback, he came to Asylum, where he met Cecelia Lefevre, whom he afterwards married. They lived on Russell Hill, Wyoming county, Pa., except a short time in Philadelphia, until his death, April 30, 1868, at the age of ninety years.

He was a florist in Paris and very fond of flowers. His green-house was filled with beautiful plants, some of them so rare that people came miles to see them, while in the summer his garden was covered with flowers of brilliant hue and sweetest fragrance. Mrs. Prevost died at the Russell Hill home May 8, 1876. Three children were born unto them—Edward, who inherited the homestead and whose descendants are among the best families of Wyoming county; Angelique, who married William Mix, Esq., of Towanda, where she is still living three years an octogenarian, on

whose path the sun, as of old, seems to stand still, continuing to her the unimpaired use of all her faculties, filling her life with brightness and peace, as, surrounded by her children, whose loving ministries lift every burden and banish every care, she walks with gentle steps towards the twilight; and Theophilus, who died at the age of fifty-five.

Mr. and Mrs. Lefevre both died on Lime Hill; he January 1, 1830, at the age of eighty, and she August 2, 1834, at the age of eighty-four.*

Later in the same year (1795) the settlement was visited by Talleyrand on his route to return to Europe. The two de la Roue brothers and Louis Paul d'Autremont, now twenty-three years of age, accompanied him to France. Mr. d'Autremont, who was said to be Talleyrand's private secretary, did not remain long in his employ. He remained, however, in Paris or Chantilly, married and had no sons, but one daughter. It is not known in what business he was engaged. In fact, such was the close espionage kept upon every one that, though he wrote frequently to his mother and brothers, he is careful to disclose nothing about himself. Indeed, he tells his mother "that to avoid anything disagreeable I pass here for a Canadian, and have changed the archi-

* The graves of the Lefevres are found in the little cemetery at Wyalusing, in a little plat of ground no doubt consecrated for the purpose, and for many years surrounded by neat white palings, and kept in order by the loving hands of their descendants. With their quaint inscriptions, these little marble monuments are among the most interesting memorials extant of a very romantic, not to say pathetic, episode in the history of our country.



In
Memory of
ANTHONY B. LEFEVRE,
a native of Paris,
in France,
who died
February 1st, 1830,
Aged 80 Years.



In
Memory of
MARIE G. LEFEVRE,
a native of Paris,
in France,
who died
August 23d, 1834,
Aged 82 Years.

ture of my name to Dautrimonth." He expresses the deepest love for his mother and interest in the welfare of his brothers, and always telling them of sending money to be invested in real estate. Only once does he tell them of losses and reverses and the failure of his plans, but from this he soon recovered. Several thousand dollars were invested at the "Butternuts," which were sunk in the general wreck of that adventure. He also had claims to other large tracts of land in New York State, and also in Louisiana, where he claimed through the heirs of John Law and the Bienville family. At one time the lower House of Congress passed an act to confirm his titles, but it never became a law, and by the death of his agents the papers relating to his claim were lost. Louis Paul was a man of fine personal presence, engaging manner and of considerable ability, and was in both England and Portugal on business for the French government. He visited this country in 1832, and after remaining here for a year and a half returned to France, where he died. Frequent quotations from his letters are made in this paper. In these letters frequent reference is made to prominent Frenchmen coming to this country and to prominent Americans in Paris, as M. LeRay du Chaumont, de Villaine, the Secretary of the French Ambassador, Edward Livingston of New York, Colonel Walker of Utica, N. Y., and others, both business and public men, especially those connected with the diplomatic service.

The d'Autremont family remained at Asylum until its discontinuance. To the young men the life of "hewers of wood and tillers of soil" was frequently irksome and monotonous, especially in view of the very different life their brother was leading. To any intimations on their part of a desire to return to France, he told them that their independent lives as farmers and their freedom from anxiety and care was far preferable to the turmoil of Paris, where every man who could bear arms was in constant danger of con-

scription for the army, from which but few returned uninjured. They remained in Asylum until the colony was disbanded, when, after a short stay at Tioga Point, they went back to their old place at the "Butternuts," then to Pittsfield, near Cooperstown. [See letter of Mr. Paul d'Autremont at end of this paper. Appendix B.]

Complications as to their title to their land had arisen. It will be remembered that Mr. Boulogne had given deeds by virtue of a Power of Attorney from the patentees authorizing him so to do. This Power of Attorney had been deposited with a Notary in Paris, and if in existence was inaccessible. Mr. Boulogne was dead, so were the witnesses to the article and Mr. Treat, one of the proprietors, while Mr. Morris denied that he had received from Mr. Boulogne any compensation. The d'Autremonts found adverse claimants to their lands under quit-claim deeds from Mr. Morris, and after three or four years of contention, sold for a song property that had cost them several thousand dollars in hard cash and several years of hard labor and untold privation and suffering, simply because of their ignorance of the law regarding the conveyance of land which unprincipled speculators took advantage of to deprive them of what they had honestly bought and paid for. It may be added here that the title through Boulogne afterward came into the courts, where it was contended that as the Power of Attorney could not be reproduced, the sale was a parole contract which could not convey land; but the court decided that the existence and contents of the written but lost document could be shown by parole evidence, and confirmed the Boulogne title. [The case is in the Reports of New York State Supreme Court, *Jackson vs. Livingston*, 7th Wondell, page 136, et seq.]

After the sale of the "Butternuts," Mrs. d'Autremont purchased of Judge Church a considerable piece of land on the Genesee, at Angelica, N. Y., which she called "the Retreat," to which she removed in 1806, with her son Alexander and

his family and her son Augustus, and where she was soon joined by her sister Marie Claudine, also by Victor du Pont de Nemours, a son of Pierre Samuel du Pont, one of the most distinguished Frenchmen of his time, and by the Baron Hyde de Nerville, one of the most ultra and bitter of the Royalists. Victor du Pont removed to Delaware to join his brother in the manufacture of gunpowder, and de Nerville returned to France, and was afterwards Ambassador to Portugal, a member of the French Cabinet, and Minister to the United States from 1816 to 1821. Both at one time owned land adjoining the Retreat.

Madame d'Autremont closed her eventful life in Angelica, N. Y., August 29, 1809, at the age of sixty-four years, and is buried in the village cemetery of that place.

Her son Alexander and his wife, Abigail, also died in Angelica; he, August 4, 1857; she, January 12, 1866. Of their ten children, the oldest was born in Asylum, two at the Butternuts, and the remaining seven at Angelica.

Her youngest son, Augustus, went to Wilmington, Del., and entered the employ of the du Ponts. He married, in 1816, Sarah Ann Stewart of New Castle, Del. He returned to Angelica, N. Y., about 1819, and later to Friendship, N. Y., where his wife died in 1840. He survived her twenty years. Of their ten children, one was born in New Castle, seven in Angelica and two in Friendship.

Her daughter Augustine married John Huff, and lived on Lime Hill. They died childless; he, on Lime Hill, and she on Russell Hill at a good old age.

At the solicitation of some of the younger people of Asylum who knew of our coming and who were anxious to know something of the romance of a century ago on these very plains where we now are, we have agreed to spend an hour in the little church and tell them as well as we can the story of the "exiled Gaul and his return." The level rays of the setting sun as he covers his face with the western hills re-

mind us that it is time to gather up our map and other material, fold up our well-worn French letters which have kindly been translated for our use, pack up our surveying instruments, and take a final look at our note-book as we turn in at the hospitable home of George Laporte, Esq., great-grandson of the emigrant, who now owns part of Asylum. As we are about to say good night, some one says: "You told us when Asylum began, when the first tree was cut; when did the settlement come to an end, and what brought it to an end?" These questions are easier asked than answered.

It must be remembered always that the coming to Asylum was not at all the wish of the emigrants. They came not for the reasons that ordinarily induce people to come to our shores, to better their condition and to make a better home for themselves and their children than they could do in the country from whence they came. There was never a moment from the time they set foot upon the ship that brought them here until their return, that they did not regard their coming as a calamity to be endured only because they were escaping a worse one. It was any port in a storm. They did not like their home in the woods. It was all right for a play day, but the living was terribly dull and monotonous. They had been accustomed to enjoy all the ease and luxury that large wealth in the most beautiful and luxurious city in the world could supply. It was hard to be content with the little log house, the coarse food and plain fare of the backwoods. They had no idea of manual labor. They were ignorant of the way to do the simplest things of the farm or the garden, or of directing others in their employment. They were like children. It was no unusual thing to call a man from work needing immediate attention and send him miles away to fell a tree that obstructed the view, or to chop down another nearer by that a party might amuse themselves by rocking upon its branches. To make woodsmen and farmers of such men was simply impossible. Several

New England people had preceded the French at Asylum. They had built houses for themselves and shelter for their stock, and put the river flats under cultivation and had begun to cut away the forests. For the first year or two the French gentry undertook the cultivation of these fields themselves, but play soon degenerated into work, and it was much easier to let the farms out to be cultivated for a small rental while they spent their time in amusing themselves, in fishing, running deer or hunting birds.

The emigrants not only disliked the country, the work and manner of life at Asylum, but the people whom they were compelled to employ. These were by no means the best of American laborers. They took every possible advantage of the ignorance of their employers, as to the price of labor, the manner in which their work should be done, and the amount that should be accomplished in a given time. It was no uncommon thing for a workman to potter all day at what ought to be done in an hour and charge the price of two days' work for it. It is not strange, therefore, that the Frenchmen should have been sick of their woodsy homes, and longed with inexpressible desire for a return to that life from which they had been so ruthlessly torn. The life they at first disliked they soon became disgusted with, and then despised, hated, loathed, and waited with impatience the first opportunity to return to their beautiful France and the elegance of their Parisian homes.

When and under what circumstances this opportunity came is not now certainly known. During the "Terror" hundreds of thousands of the nobility, clergy and gentry who were suspected of entertaining sentiments favoring royalty even in a slight degree, found their lives to be in danger and made all speed to get out of France. The French government was embarrassed by the loss of so many of its prominent citizens, who were to be found in all the principal cities of Europe and the United States. As France began to return

to sanity, prescriptive decrees against the emigrants were repealed, and the restoration of the forfeited estates promised. From 1799 measures looking towards the rehabilitation of political rights and pecuniary advantages to the exiles began, which were continued with increasing liberality until 1807. In August, 1802, by a popular vote, Napoleon was elected consul for life. A commission of the ablest lawyers of France was appointed to revise the civil code. Among the things proposed was "a general amnesty, by the terms of which a hundred and fifty thousand of the emigrant nobility were permitted to return to France, and were, as far as practicable, restored to their confiscated estates." If, as is probable, it was by this decree our people at Asylum found the door open for their return to France, it must have been the summer of 1803 when the most of them took their departure, and with this agree all the data I have here gathered. There are no deeds for land in Asylum bearing date prior to this. Wilson, the ornithologist, passed up the river on his way to Niagara Falls. He followed the old Sullivan road which led down the mountain opposite the town, and while he does not expressly say so, the inference from what he does say is that it was recently occupied. Five years later the town was in ruins. The d'Autremonts were two or three years at the Butternuts, but went to Angelica in May, 1806.

The colonists did not leave in a body. Each family, as it could arrange its affairs and secure the means, was anxious to get away at the earliest possible moment. All did not return to France. Mancy Colin, the priest, went to St. Domingo, Mr. Regnier to New Orleans, Mr. Aubrey to Philadelphia, while the four families we have mentioned at some length, seeing the superior advantages to a working-man in this country, with the genuine American spirit, remained to cast in their lot with us, and have become the most useful families of the country. Perhaps this episode of Pennsylvania history cannot be ended better, unless it

had been sooner ended, than in the rhyming description of Alexander Wilson, the ornithologist :

"Gaul's exiled royalists, a pensive train,
Here raise the hut and clear the rough domain ;
The way-worn pilgrim to their fires receive,
Supply his wants, but at his tidings grieve ;
Afflicting news ! forever on the wing,
A ruined country and a murdered king !
Peace to their lone retreats while sheltered here,
May these deep shades to them be doubly dear,
And Power's proud worshippers, wherever placed,
Who saw such grandeur ruined and defaced,
By deeds of virtue to themselves secure
Those inborn joys that spite of kings endure,
Through thrones and states from their foundations part,
The precious balsam of a wounded heart."

APPENDIX A.

"BEAULIEU, LOUIS I. de. (of France). Lieutenant 1st Cavalry Pulaski Legion, 1st March, 1779; taken prisoner at Savannah, 9th October, 1779; exchanged. Severely wounded at Charleston, 12th May, 1780; on leave to close of war."

(Heitman's Historical Register, Officers of the Continental Army, 1775-1783, p. 80.)

Thomas Balch, Esq., in his work entitled "The French in America during the War of Independence of the United States, 1777-1783," p. 48, says: "Beaulieu (De) was formerly a Captain of infantry in France, obtained the same position in America where he went to serve in the legion of Pulaski. An infantry officer of this name was wounded in the fight off Saint Lucia, on the fleet of Guichen. Pontgibaud says that after the war he married an English woman and kept a tavern at Asylum."

APPENDIX B.

The following letter from Louls Paul d'Autremont to his mother is a specimen of his frequent letters to her and his brothers :

PARIS, 18th July, 1798.

I always begin my letters with a reproach, or at least a complaint. Why is that I have not received letters from you for five months? I know that circumstances are anything but favorable for frequent communications. So many vessels do not reach their destination—even those which escape the danger of being taken rarely escape the fear of the loss of letters. I wrote you about six weeks ago though by M. Bourneville, vice-counsel at Boston. To-day I take advantage of the departure of M. Gerry, one of our commissioners, to send you this.

I will not speak to you of political affairs; in your solitude they would have little attraction for you. I will abstain, then, from speaking of them. I have plenty of things to tell you pertaining to myself to fill this paper. I have to tell you of a little business that I have just finished, and which will require for its entire conclusion the good will and the attention of my dear Alexander. I have just bought of Duvernot all of his best lands of the Chenango; that is to say that of what belonged to him. I have made a bargain with him for a thousand acres of land. I have my choice everywhere; all the clearings, even the mill belongs to me. You will say, "But why this new purchase—what does this new project mean?" In two words, my dear, I will explain it to you. It is not well demonstrated to me yet, that America is not the best country in the world. It is without dispute the one where one can be free and tranquil. After all that the late *papier* of France must have told you, you must perceive that the greatest that can happen to a man is that neither good nor evil overtake him. According to this manner of thinking, which I share with many others, I must think of my future. I have bought these thousand acres that in every possible case I may have a refuge. My intention is to give 200 acres to Alexander for a wedding present if he marries. He will build house and barns for me. I will charge him also finally to make clearings, and for this purpose I will send him an annual sum that he may increase our common property. As to the amount of this sum I will let you know in your next letter.

In this way, without expending at once any great amount and profiting by the cheapness of these lands, I will have in five or six years a very handsome property in perspective, which my family will have the benefit of. I will also have had the satisfaction of procuring for

them an agreeable and substantial existence and of making profitable the money they would otherwise have expended without advantage either to themselves or to me.

You must arrange matters with Burr, the constructor of the mill, and that ought to be easily done. I have no doubt that with a little money it can be arranged. Duvernot had made his bargain in this way. He was to give a hundred acres on the *great creek*. These lands, as you know, are excellent; they are regarded as the best of the tract. If my brother thinks best to keep them and make some other arrangement with Burr he can do so. I think by the payment of thirty or forty francs (?) Burr would give up all claim, and he can draw upon me for that amount. La Colomb will explain to him how this is to be done. I expect, my dear, that to act in this way only to provide for all the blows of fortune, I have realized my little substance. It is not considerable, but it will permit me to live by becoming a farmer again; and no matter how small it is, Alexander, Auguste and you shall share it. I have no need to tell you that these lands are those that were so highly valued on the Chenango.

If my brother is married, if he wishes to live in the interior, as seven years of habit may have given him the desire, he can become an interested party. If circumstance smile upon me still more, I will do for him what I am sure he would do for me in a similar case. But let us not anticipate the future. If I become richer my intention is to form for myself a second little fortune in America, and will increase little by little my domains, of which you and my brother will have the administration. You will then be obliged, my dear, to keep up a regular correspondence to inform me of my affairs. You will tell me what Alexander is doing. If he carries out his old plan of journey to St. Domingo, which I do not advise him to do at the present moment. It will be necessary for him to take a trip to my lands to take the steps necessary to insure me peaceful possession and enjoyment of my new acquisition. He must give 50 or even 100 acres of land to Bornet's son, as to Bornet himself, that his son may watch over my lands. You must have Colomb see that my gift is not thrown away, but that it rebounds to my advantage. I leave it to your wisdom to decide the best measures to be taken.

In case you find any obstacles to taking possession, either because Boulogne has not satisfied the payments that he had engaged to make, or if any person had established themselves upon them, if you judge these obstacles to be insurmountable you will let me know immediately, that I may know upon what I can defend. You will charge La Colomb to recover for you the payment of the letter of exchange,

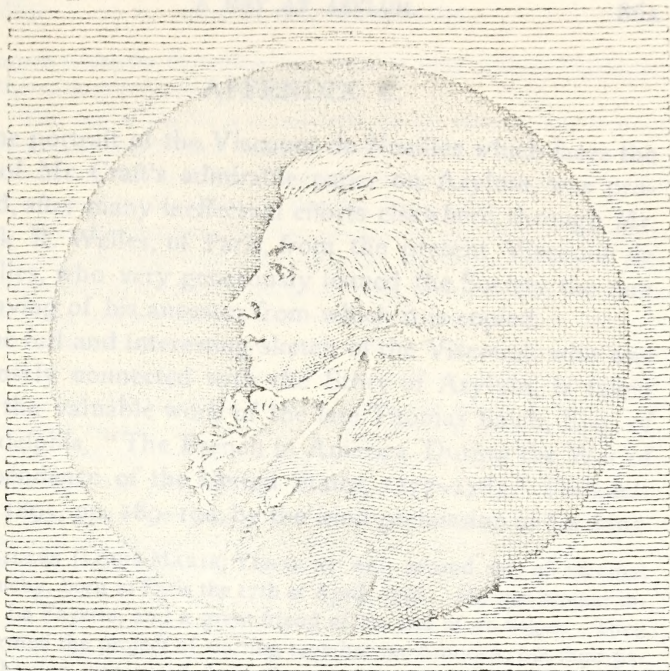
which you will find enclosed, subscribed to my order by Duverot and payable at St. Louis. You will understand that this note is only a precaution on my part that you may secure the sum that I have to-day advanced for the first payment of my purchase. In reading the contract of sale, which I also send you, you will see that I have made a pretty good bargain, if I encounter no difficulties. So far as I can see there cannot exist any great obstacle, for Boulogne owed Morris 15,000 piastres, and Nicholsen owed for the 7,000 acres that he had, being 21,000 piastres. It appears that the affairs of the latter have gone badly the last two years.

Finally, I am not in America; I cannot judge as wisely as you can, but I believe if Duvernot receives your letter * * * he will honor his own letter, the more so, as the advance of funds that I make him at this moment is a mark of friendship that I give him. I believe, then, that I may be easy about this. If all these affairs should fail, see among your acquaintances if there is an opportunity to acquire a good farm at a low price upon the borders of the Delaware, in a pleasant location where you could retire with Auguste while waiting for me. The neighborhood of the river, the proximity of some acquaintances, might make you support more patiently the absence of him who loves you as you deserve. When you receive the money in the letter of exchange enclosed, you may notify me of the reception, and you can use it as you think best [a few words illegible]. It is for your good sense, my dear, to disentangle in my chaos of ideas those that I really wish to express. You will easily perceive those that belong to my desire to be of use to my brother, and my tenderness for you. You will reject those that seem inconsistent with the real sentiments of my heart; you have only for that to judge me after yourself. Write me often and more at length of your country, what the prices of land are in general, what opportunity there may be at the present, especially for a young man who has great projects of peace and of * * * [Illegible.]

Adieu. I love and embrace you as a son, as a friend. I observe again that my brother must arrange with Burr in regard to the mill before letting him know that he has become a co-proprietor of the land. If my brother has an opportunity in passing upon the Susquehanna to see the fine farms at the junction of the Tioga that was formerly for sale, let him enquire the condition. This farm is most beautifully situated and is called Queen Ester Flats.

My means, my dear friend, are still very meagre, but may and ought to increase.

D'AUTREMONT.



LOUIS MARIE

Vicomte de Noailles.

Né à Paris en 1756.

Député de Nemours

à l'Assemblée Nat.^e de 1789.



Luboye del.

Courbe Sculp.

A Paris chez le S^r. Desjabin Editeur de cette Collection.

Place du Carroussel N^o. 4.

APPENDIX C.

The portrait of the Viscount de Noailles which faces the title of Mr. Craft's admirable paper on Asylum, was procured, after many ineffectual efforts elsewhere, through Mr. Frank R. Welles, of Paris, from the present Viscount de Noailles, who very generously loaned the Society the rare engraving of his ancestor from which it is copied.

The full and interesting sketch of the Viscount, who was so closely connected with the Story of Asylum, is taken from the valuable work of the late Thomas Balch, Esq., of Philadelphia, "The French in America During the War of Independence of the United States, 1777-1783," Philadelphia, 1895, pp. 189-194, by the kind permission of his sons.

NOAILLES (LOUIS-MARIE, VISCOUNT DE), second son of Marshal de Mouchy, born at Paris the 17th of April, 1756. He was brother-in-law of La Fayette, and a great friend of his and of de Ségur. They had formed the project of starting together for America, but their parents, having discovered their plans, prevented them. La Fayette alone had will and independence enough, thanks to his fortune, to carry out his generous project.

Captain the 7th of March, 1773; colonel of Soissonnais the 28th of February, 1778, but only to take his rank when he was twenty-eight years old. He made with this rank the expedition of America, and had several times the chief command of the work on the trenches before Yorktown. He was intrusted with arranging the terms of surrender with Colonel Laurens and de Granchain. Washington several times praises his courage and intelligence.

On his return he was appointed *mestre de camp*, lieutenant commandant of the regiment of dragoons of the King, and was replaced in his position of colonel *en second* of Soissonnais by De Ségur in 1782. He had conceived in America a great enthusiasm for liberty, and he took up with eagerness the cause of the French Revolution; he proposed, during the famous night of the 4th of August, the principal reforms against the privileges. He commanded the advanced posts of Valenciennes in 1792; but not approving the excesses of the Terror, he resigned and withdrew to England, and thence to the United States, where he played a strange rôle. He re-entered the service

again under the Consulate, and went, in 1803, to Saint Domingo, with the rank of brigadier-general.

The rest of his life is so well told by his sister-in-law, Madame de Montagu, that I insert here her account, which is found in the very interesting book, "Anne Paule-Dominique de Noailles, Marquis de Montagu," by the Duke de Noailles, Paris, 1868:

"The Viscount de Noailles, considered one of the best officers of his day, who had followed La Fayette, his brother-in-law, to America during the War of Independence; who, much smitten with the ideas of 1789, had sat in the Constitutional Assembly beside Maury, Barnave and Mirabeau; who, in the famous night of the 4th of August, taking the initiative of the three propositions, indispensable basis of the great reforms, then in every mind, the equal distribution of all taxation among all Frenchmen, the abolition by purchase of feudal rights, and the abolition without purchase of the *corvées* and personal servitude, had given the signal for the enthusiasm with which in that same sitting the nobility and the clergy despoiled themselves so generously and so patriotically of their rights and privileges. This same Viscount de Noailles was none the less an *émigré*, like the others.

"When war was declared, in April, 1792, he commanded a brigade in the advance guard during the first invasion of Belgium, and he found himself surrounded in the flight of our troops, which took place with the cry of "Treachery!" and amid which General Théobald Dillon was massacred, and he himself was obliged to seek a refuge beyond the frontier, where he was immediately declared an *émigré* and proscribed.

"He first went to England, then to America, where he entered with success into the commercial operations of the house of Bingham. Madame de Montagu succeeded in having his name struck off the list of *émigrés*. His return was retarded by a long lawsuit, where he argued his case himself in English before the American courts. So well did he speak that language, of which we will see the importance to him later, that he won his suit, amid universal applause. But the obligation of following out the consequences forced him to go to Saint Domingo, where our possessions had fallen into the power of the negroes, and which a French army was trying to reconquer.

"He found this army partly destroyed by yellow fever, and its remains attacked on one side by the negroes, on the other by the British squadrons. Rochambeau was in command. Noailles devotedly put himself at the disposition of his old comrade in arms, and, amongst other deeds, helped materially in the capture of Fort Dauphin.

"Rochambeau gave him the command of the Môle Saint Nicholas, whose garrison, reduced to eighteen hundred men, was besieged by twenty thousand blacks and a British squadron. He defended himself there for five months. But Rochambeau, shut in at the Cape, was at length forced by famine to surrender with his negroes. He was going to retire with his troops on neutral vessels, but the English fleet surrounded these ships, forced them to surrender, and prepared to take them to Europe. The commander of the squadron which was blockading Môle Saint Nicholas informed General de Noailles of these events, asking him to cease a useless resistance.

" 'A French general,' he answered, 'cannot surrender without shame as long as he has supplies, ammunition and devoted soldiers. France, like England, has fleets on the ocean. I will wait.'

"This answer hid his intrepid project of escaping with his entire force from the hostile fleets. Informed that the convoy which took with it the ships of Rochambeau was to pass three days later before the Môle during the night, he prepared his men, and on seven ships which were in the port mounted his soldiers, his cannons, his ammunition, with some of the inhabitants of the Môle, and awaited in silence the passage of the convoy.

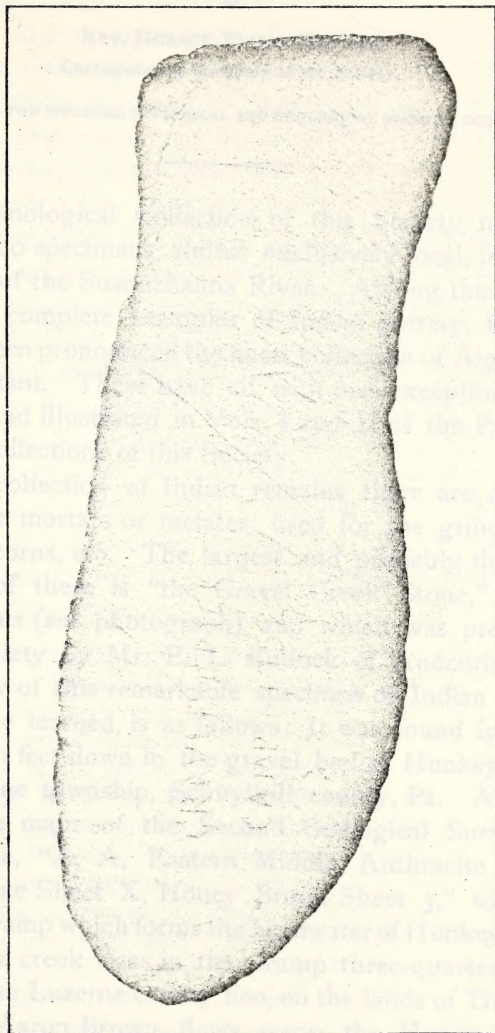
"When the ships' lights appeared the order for departure was given, and during a dark night the seven ships, profiting by the confusion of the passage and deceiving a blockading squadron, joined the convoy. Noailles himself led, and speaking English perfectly, answered himself all the hails from the nearer ships. Little by little he drew away with his ships, and spread all sail at dawn, and although the English then discovered what had happened and sailed after him, he reached successfully, with his seven ships, Baracoa, a port in the Island of Cuba. He landed there the inhabitants of the Môle, as well as his troops, of whom he sent some back to France and kept the others, intending to lead them to Havana, where General Lavalette was in command.

"He chartered for this purpose three small vessels, got as escort the war schooner the "Courier," and sailed himself on this schooner, which was only armed with four guns, with his staff and a company of grenadiers of the 34th half brigade. Four days afterwards, on the 31st of December, 1803, off the Great Nuevita, he met at dusk an English corvette, the "Hazard," of seven guns, which hailed him. He hastened to raise the English colors, and answered in such good English that the commander of the corvette informed him that he was in search of a French boat carrying General de Noailles. 'I have precisely the

same mission,' he answered, and began to sail with the corvette. Then, when the night became dark, he proposed to his soldiers to board the English. The proposal being received with delight, Lieutenant Deshayes, who was commanding the "Courrier," sailed it so as bring it all of a sudden alongside the corvette. The shock was so violent that the stem of the "Courrier" was broken. The English, surprised, rushed to arms; but de Noailles dashed with his grenadiers on to their deck, and after a terrible combat, the corvette, which had lost half its crew, surrendered.

"Unfortunately, at the end of the battle, an enemy's bullet struck the heroic descendant of a race of warriors, of whom he had showed himself so worthy; and on the morrow, on board of his prize, but mortally wounded, and towing the "Courrier," half broken to pieces, he entered gloriously Havana. He lived only six days after his triumph, and died on the 5th of January, 1804. His heart was inclosed in silver box by his grenadiers, who fastened it to their flag and brought it back to France, which the brave Frenchman had desired to have reopened to him by his glory."

THE "GRAVEL CREEK" INDIAN STONE



THE GRAVEL CREEK STONE.

Side view (one-sixth actual size).

In the collection of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barré, Pa.

THE "GRAVEL CREEK" INDIAN STONE,

BY

REV. HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN,
Corresponding Secretary of the Society.

READ BEFORE THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, OCT. 24, 1892.

The Ethnological Collection of this Society numbers about 15,000 specimens, almost exclusively local, from the watershed of the Susquehanna River. Among these there are fifteen complete examples of Indian pottery, forming what has been pronounced the finest collection of Algonquin pottery extant. These have all, with one exception, been described and illustrated in Vols. I and II of the Proceedings and Collections of this Society.

In this collection of Indian remains there are also as many stone mortars or metates, used for the grinding of corn and acorns, etc. The largest and probably the most important of these is "the Gravel Creek Stone," which lies before us (see photograph), and which was presented to this Society by Mr. E. L. Bullock of Audenried, Pa. The history of this remarkable specimen of Indian art, as far as can be learned, is as follows: It was found in 1886, eight or ten feet down in the gravel bed of Hunkey Dory swamp, Kline township, Schuylkill county, Pa. A reference to the maps of the Second Geological Survey of Pennsylvania, "A, A, Eastern Middle Anthracite Field, Atlas 3, Mine Sheet X, Honey Brook Sheet 3," will discover the swamp which forms the headwater of Hunkey Dory Creek. The creek rises in the swamp three-quarters of a mile from the Luzerne county line, on the lands of Timothy Lewis and Aaron Brown, flows across the Honey Brook Anthracite basin, and empties into Catawissa Creek, which

also empties into the Susquehanna River at the town of Catawissa, Columbia county.

This portion of the Honey Brook Coal basin is worked by the Lehigh and Wilkes-Barre Coal Company through their number eight slope. The swamp is one mile from the slope, and covers about ten acres of land. It receives the watershed of several hundred acres of surrounding territory. It is composed largely of gravel which evidently was washed into it from the disintegrated conglomerate rocks from the hills around it. The swamp has been partly drained in order to make the mining of coal underneath safer. The coal has been worked close to the surface, and as a result, the bed of that head-branch of Hunkey Dory Creek, called Gravel Creek, caved in on January 6th, 1886, precipitating the flow of water from the creek into the mine workings below. This made it necessary to dig a ditch, some distance from the "cave," eight or ten feet deep, to divert the waters of Gravel Creek from the mine. Hence two workmen, one of whom was Charles J. McShea of Yorktown, one mile distant, were sent to the swamp for this purpose. McShea, in a letter dated October 20, 1902, thus described the finding of the stone:

"I received your letter desiring information regarding the stone. I found the stone one mile northwest of number 8. Hunkidory Creek had caved in. We dug another ditch twenty feet from the 'cave,' and found the rock twelve feet down in the earth. It was down so deep that it took all my might to throw the dirt out with a long-handle shovel. That was on the night of the heavy rain when all the mules were drowned, over seventeen years ago. I started to carry the stone home at six o'clock in the evening, and got home with it at nine in the night. The figures we did not discover until one year and a half after that. The little girl was washing off the rock in a play-house, when she discovered the figures and came in and told me. I went out to see what she meant, and found written the inscription you see on the rock."

This inscription, very roughly, but distinctly cut in the stone, is :

"GRAVLE CRICK
CAMP 1752."

It excited the wonder of all who saw it. The stone was then, as now, fully 29 inches in length, 14 inches in width at center and 10 inches at mouth, and 5 inches in depth inside, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ outside. It is $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches thick. McShea told Mr. W. J. Hayes, Superintendent of the Morea Colliery, that the peculiar shape of the stone first attracted his attention and induced him to carry it home; that he thought it was the half of a stone vase, and the next morning he searched for the other half, suspecting it might contain treasure. After that, concluding that the stone would make an excellent hog-trough, it did duty for some years in his pig-sty. Later it passed into the possession of Mr. W. J. Hayes, of the Morea Colliery, where it stood on his lawn in Yorktown. Recently he presented it to Mr. E. L. Bullock of Beaver Brook, who in turn placed it in charge of Mr. Charles F. Hill of Hazleton for the purpose of having it brought to the notice of the Archæologists of the State. Mr. Hill, who has been for many years familiar with the Indian and ethnological history of the State, has, lately, with Mr. Bullock's consent, generously presented it to this Society.

That the find is of Indian manufacture there can be no doubt; but who made the inscription, and at what period of time, are questions not so easily determined.

Although this region was then largely unknown to the white man it was traversed by Indian traders, and Moravian missionaries from Bethlehem to the Susquehanna Indians, the Moravians having located at Bethlehem 1741, and at Gnadenhutten, 25 miles east of Hunkey Dory swamp, in 1745.

Shortly after the treaty of William Penn with the Susque-


Shawannan Indians in 1701, a number of the Shawanese tribe moved their settlement to Wyoming, and made their home there. In 1736 the Six Nations by treaty released to Penn the lands on both sides of the Susquehanna River east and west. In 1742 the Delawares and the Mohicans also came and established their villages in the Wyoming Valley. Before their migration all of these tribes had had more or less intercourse with the white people.

In 1742 Count Zinzendorf the head of the Moravian Society, with Conrad Weiser, Martin Mack and his wife, visited these Indian settlements and began missionary work among them. This matter will be found more fully treated in the paper on "Zinzendorf and the Moravian Missions in the Wyoming Valley," by Dr. F. C. Johnson, printed in this volume, and also in O. J. Harvey's "History of Wilkes-Barré," now in press.

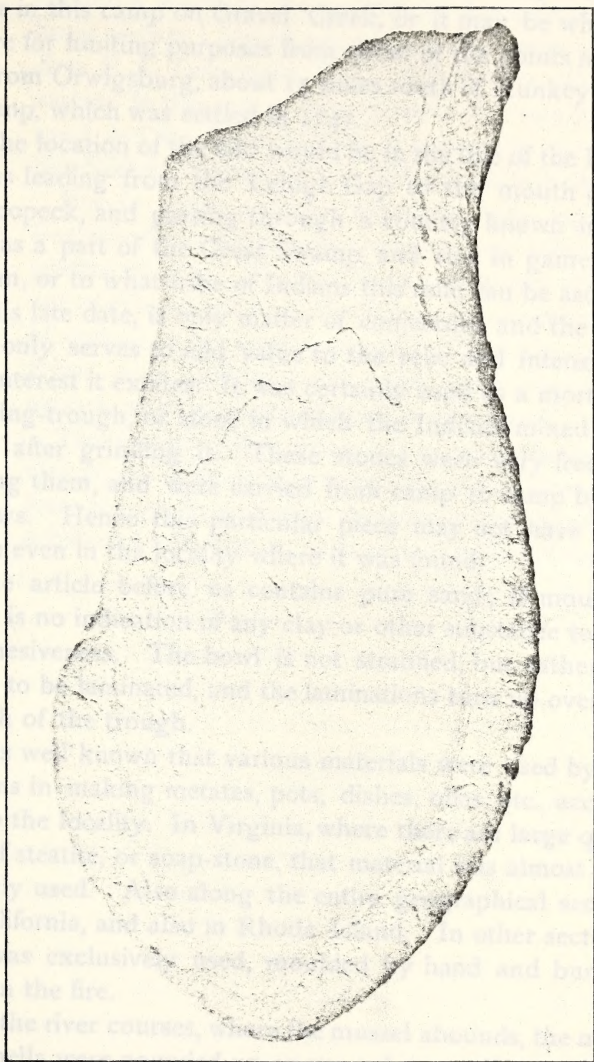

In 1752 the region was in possession of the Delaware Indians. Nutimus at this date was located at the mouth of the Nescopeck, where the town of that name now stands. Lilipapictan was located a few miles below, where is now the town of Danville, while a tribe of the Piscataways was located at the spot where is now the town of Catawissa.

From 1754 to 1756, within 25 miles of Hunkey Dory Swamp, five or more Forts were erected for the defence of the settlers in the section now including Northampton, Schuylkill, Lehigh and Carbon Counties, viz., Forts Allen, Lehigh Gap, Franklin, Lebanon and Everett.

There is in the possession of this Society a letter written from "Wyoming ye 10th December 1753," by William Craig, then sheriff of Northampton county, and addressed "To Lewis Gordon, Esq., at Easton. To be forwarded by John Atkins, Esq." It is endorsed "Recd 18 Decr 1753." It was published by Dr. William H. Egle in his "Historical Register," Vol. I, 125, when he presented the original to this Society.



L CREEK STONE.



THE GRAVEL CREEK STONE.

Top view (one-sixth actual size).

In the collection of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barré, Pa.

The inscription on the stone was evidently made by an unlearned white man, who may have been a trader, or a prisoner in this camp on Gravel Creek, or it may be who was there for hunting purposes from either of the points named, or from Orwigsburg, about 15 miles south of Hunkey Dory swamp, which was settled in 1747.

The location of the find would be in the line of the Indian paths leading from the Lehigh Gap to the mouth of the Nescopeck, and passing through a country known in that day as a part of the Great Swamp, and rich in game. To whom, or to what tribe of Indians this relic can be ascribed at this late date, is only matter of conjecture, and the mystery only serves to add value to the relic and intensity to the interest it excites. It was certainly used as a mortar or mealing-trough, or stone in which the Indians mixed their meal after grinding it. These stones were very frequent among them, and were carried from camp to camp by the squaws. Hence this particular piece may not have been made even in the locality where it was found.

The article before us contains pure sand; if moulded, there is no indication of any clay or other substance to give it adhesiveness. The bowl is not stratified, but rather appears to be laminated, and the laminations turn up over the mouth of the trough.

It is well known that various materials were used by the Indians in making metates, pots, dishes, ollas, etc., according to the locality. In Virginia, where there are large quarries of steatite, or soap-stone, that material was almost universally used. Also along the entire geographical section of California, and also in Rhode Island. In other sections clay was exclusively used, moulded by hand and burned hard in the fire.

On the river courses, where the mussel abounds, the mussel shells were pounded up or ground as small as possible with the implements at hand and mixed with clay. I have

found in West Virginia, where mounds and Indian remains abound, large sections of pots whose periphery or ellipse indicated a vessel of the capacity of five gallons. One such large section I placed years ago in the collection of the late Rev. E. A. Dalrymple, D. D., of Baltimore, where it still remains. In this part of Pennsylvania clay was almost entirely used, and the fine collection of pottery in the possession of this Society is made of clay burned black in the fire.

But in other sections sandstone was especially used. Sometimes the micaceous sandstone was mixed with a proportion of clay. Mortars of sandstone are often found cut out or ground out from the living rock, or cut into the mass of rock as in the steatite quarries. Often also concretionary forms were hollowed out, and water-washed or worn masses, already partly shaped, were utilized.

The Gravel Creek stone has no appearance of mica, or clay or any other foreign substance, and if wrought by hand from the virgin sandstone must have been mixed with some substance unknown to us to give it adhesiveness.

The necessity for such implements was no doubt greater in the northern and harsher climates of the world, where the getting of a bare subsistence required effort and strength and courage, than it was in the warmer and more congenial climate near the tropics, in which nature spontaneously provides food and there is little need of clothing. It is therefore altogether probable that implements of the Stone Age are more numerous in the cold than in the warm parts of the earth.

The subject of the Stone Age is so often presented under some unfamiliar technical title which, at the very outset, discourages the average person from reading about it, that space is here taken to define the three terms under which it is usually mentioned. Webster's Dictionary gives the following definitions:

1. At the Chicago-Columbia Exposition in 1893 the "Anthropological Building" contained the exhibits on this subject; while at the Exposition held in Charleston, S. C., in 1894, it was covered in the Department of Ethnology.

THE STONE AGE.

93

REMAINS OF THE STONE AGE IN THE WYOMING VALLEY AND
ALONG THE SUSQUEHANNA RIVER.

BY

CHRISTOPHER WREN.

READ BEFORE THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OCT. 24, 1902.

THE SUBJECT.

The proper study of mankind is man.

—*Alexander Pope.*

From specimens of many kinds of implements and weapons, found in all parts of Europe and America, it is quite evident that man, at some time in the history of the race, depended on these crude tools, which he had fashioned out of stone, to procure and prepare his food and clothing, and to protect himself from savage beasts and, perhaps, just as savage men.

The necessity for such implements was no doubt greater in the northern and harsher climates of the world, where the getting of a bare subsistence required effort and strength and courage, than it was in the warmer and more congenial climate near the tropics, in which nature spontaneously provides food and there is little need of clothing. It is therefore altogether probable that implements of the Stone Age are more numerous in the cold than in the warm parts of the earth.

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1. At the Chicago Columbia Exposition in 1893 the "Anthropological Building" contained the exhibit on this subject; while at the Exposition held in Charleston, S. C., in 1902, it was covered in the department of Ethnology.

Anthropology—(1) To speak or discourse (on) man; the doctrine of the structure of the human body; the natural history of the human species.

(2) The science of man considered in his entire nature, as composed of body and soul, and as subject to various modifications from sex, temperament, race, civilization, etc.

Archæology—A discourse on antiquity; learning pertaining to antiquity; the science of antiquities.

Ethnology—To speak (of) nations; the science which treats of the division of men into races, their origin and relations, and the differences which characterize them.

There is no definite knowledge of the exact time when the inhabitants of Europe ceased using stone implements nor when they learned to use fire in the smelting of metals, but it must have been many centuries ago.²

In the year 1870 Canon Greenwell of Durham Cathedral supervised the re-excavation of the Grimes Graves flint pits, in County Suffolk, England, his report being published in the Transactions of the Ethnological Society for the same year. Among other things the report states that at a point where one of the passages had caved in, during the absence of the workmen, the tools of the flint miners were found, one of them still showing the imprint of the workman's fingers upon it. "It was a most impressive sight never to be forgotten," he says, "to look, after a lapse of three thousand years or more, upon a piece of unfinished work, with

2. Professor William H. Holmes says on this point: "Replying to your letter of October 5th, I must regret my inability to give you any information, off-hand, regarding the close of the stone period in Europe. I have always thought of the close as gradual, however; in fact, as continuing down to the present in the more remote and primitive districts. The use of bronze came in early, but was not universal at the beginning of the Christian era, and iron is of comparatively recent introduction. I dare say there are traces of the stone age yet to be found in many places."

the tools lying about as though the workmen had just gone to dinner or quit work for the night." The learned gentleman evidently held the view that it was "three thousand years or more" since flaked implements had been made in Britain, the quarries examined being in the very heart of the flint district, and their abandonment marking the abandonment of the use of stone implements and the substitution of those made of metal.

The remarkably close resemblance in shapes and workmanship between the flaked stone implements found in Britain, Scandinavia, Belgium, Egypt, France, Italy and India and those found on the American continent,³ would suggest one of three causes as an explanation of the similarity:

1st. That the inhabitants of both continents learned the art of flaking stone from a common source.

2d. That, the people of both continents having independently learned to flake stone, there was contact and intercourse between them at some period, during which a knowledge of flaking the most perfect forms of implements was transmitted from one to the other.⁴

3d. That, with the same end in view and under substantially similar circumstances and conditions, the mind of man is prone to work along the same lines and will arrive at the same ultimate result.

In reading the history of peoples of the past we frequently catch a glimpse of the individual man, and usually with a weapon of some kind in his hand; perhaps because the pursuits of war and the scenes of the chase and the arena were

3. For comparisons of the several sections see Card No. 50, Wren Collection: Thomas Wilson, LL. D., Annual Report Smithsonian Institution, 1897; Collection of Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.; *Early Man in Britain*, Sir John Evans.

4. Can this be a "straw" indicating that the Scandinavians to whom the building of the stone tower in Massachusetts has been ascribed, left still another mark of their visit? Some of the finest flaked implements of Europe are found on the Scandinavian Peninsula; or can the Welsh colony of the early part of the fourteenth century in which George Catlin so firmly believed (see Smithsonian Report, 1885, page 463, etc.) have introduced it from some isolated mountain section of Wales? The Welsh people for centuries past have been and are to-day expert miners and workers in stone.

the principal events in the lives of the men of those times, but few other happenings being of enough importance to be chronicled.⁵

"Peace, it has been said, is the dream of the wise, but war has been the history of nations."

David slew Goliath with a rude sling and a pebble which he had taken from the brookside.

"And right anon, this irous cursid wrecche,
Let this knightes sone anon biforn him fecche,
Comaundyng hem thay schuld biforn him stonde;
And sodeinly he took his bowe in honde,
And up the streng he pulled to his eere,
And with an arwe he slough the child right there."⁶

—*Canterbury Tales*—lines 7645-7650.

"The arrows now flew thicker than rain before the wind; fast sped the shaft that the English call 'wibetes.' Then it was that an arrow, that had been thus shot upward, struck Harold above the right eye and put it out. In his agony he drew the arrow and threw it away, breaking it with his hands; and the pain to his head was so great that he leaned upon his shield."—*Creasy's "Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World."* *Battle of Hastings.*

* * * * * "He whistled shrill
And he was answered from the hill;
Wild as the scream of the curlew,
From crag to crag the signal flew,
Instant through copse and heath arose
Bonnets, and spears and bended bows;
On right, on left, above, below
Sprang up at once the lurking foe."

—*Lady of the Lake. Canto v, Stanza ix.*

5. In the good old English family names of Archer, Bowman, Arrowsmith, Spear, Lance, Benbow, Strobo (Strongbow) and, perhaps, Flint, we still hear an echo from the time when man was using the Arrow and Spear as his chief weapons. A search would doubtless disclose similar names in other languages and among other peoples.

6. "And right anon, this irate cursed wretch,
Let this knight's son anon before him fetch,
Commanding him they should before him stand;
And suddenly he took his bow in hand,
And up the string he pulled to his ear,
And with an arrow slew the child right there."

In the language of an eminent writer, we get a picture of early man in Britain with all his savagery: "Huge white bodies, cold blooded, with fierce blue eyes, reddish flaxen hair; ravenous stomachs filled with meat and cheese, heated by strong drink; of a cold temperament, slow to love, prone to brutal drunkenness; these are to this day the features which descent and climate preserve in the race, and these are what the Roman historians described in their former country. There is no living on these lands without abundance of solid food; bad weather keeps people at home; strong drinks are necessary to cheer them; the senses become blunted, the muscles are braced, the will vigorous. In every country the body of man is rooted deep in the soil of nature; and in this instance still deeper, because being uncultivated, he is less removed from nature. In Germany * * * Pirates at first; of all kinds of hunting, the man-hunt is most profitable and noble; they left the care of the land and flocks to the women and slaves; seafaring, war and pillage was their whole idea of a freeman's work. They dashed to sea in their two sailed barks, landed anywhere, killed everything; and, having sacrificed in honor of their gods the tithe of their prisoners, and leaving behind them the red light of their burnings, went farther on to begin again. 'Lord!' says a certain litany, 'deliver us from the fury of the Jutes, of all barbarians these are strongest of body and heart, the most formidable.'"⁷

History tells us that the soldiers among the early Greeks and Romans were armed with steel swords, and with spears and arrows pointed with steel and bronze. Thomas Wilson, LL. D., describes and illustrates these ancient bronze points; he refers to a mention of them in Homer's *Odyssey* and *Illiad* 1000 B. C. He also states that the earliest definite description of arrow points in history has reference to those made of bronze; quoting also from Herodotus (about

7. H. A. Taine—*History of English Literature*, page 35, etc.

450 B. C.), that "one branch of the army of Xerxes, composed probably of Ethiopians, used stone-tipped arrows and javelins tipped with antelope horn." * * * * "One Ariantas, a King of the Scythians, took a census of his people by requiring each one to contribute an arrow head, the whole of which he put in the melting pot and cast into an enormous bronze vessel."⁸

Harold, the last of the Saxon Kings of England, was killed by an arrow-point piercing his eye at the Battle of Hastings in 1066 A. D. This was no doubt a bronze point, the inhabitants of Britain at this time being versed in the making of bronze.⁹

In the use of fire for smelting metals, the indications are that man first learned to work those metals which fuse at the lowest temperatures, and the production of bronze, composed of a mixture of copper and tin, both of which metals melt at a comparatively low degree of heat, served his purposes during the period which succeeded the Stone Age.¹⁰ The Iron Age, and lastly the Steel Age, in which we live, came only when man had learned to produce the very high degrees of heat necessary in smelting the more refractory metals, by the use of artificial forced draft in the combustion of the fuel used in their manufacture.

AMERICA.

At the time of the discovery of America, and the first coming of the peoples of Europe to this continent, they found the inhabitants here still using implements made of stone. Europe having passed through the stone and bronze

8. Thomas Wilson, LL. D.—*Arrow-Points, Spearheads and Knives.*" Report of Smithsonian Institution, 1897, page 833, etc.

9. "Tin has been known from remote antiquity, being mentioned in the books of Moses; the Phoenicians carried on a lucrative trade in it with Spain and Cornwall." *Ures Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures and Mines*, page 848, etc.

10. Gold and silver which are also easily melted were in use at a very early date. The workers in these metals were very expert even in prehistoric times; specimens of their handicraft dug up from prehistoric ruins show them to have been skilled in enamel and filigree work to a degree which is not excelled at the present day.

periods the implements introduced into this country were made principally of iron, steel and copper, and the American Indian stepped directly from the Stone Age into the Iron Age. A few specimens of aboriginal copper implements have been found in America, but the preponderance of evidence seems to point toward their being hammered cold from pieces of native copper which had been found in an almost pure state. A continued hammering of most metals cold has a tendency to harden them, which may have misled some investigators, unversed in the manipulation of metals, to believe that the aborigines even understood the "lost art" of tempering copper.

The study of the Stone Age takes us back to the dim past of antiquity, long before the beginning of recorded history, and the only knowledge we can gain of that period is through a study of such works of human origin as may be found on or near the surface of the earth. While the subject itself is thus a very old one, the systematic study of it is of comparatively recent date, especially as touching those small stone implements which were for personal use and associated with man's daily habits and customs. Most of the reliable data which we have on this subject has been gathered within the past one hundred years, although attention has been given to the larger works of prehistoric man, in the nature of buildings, monuments, etc., for a much longer period of time.

So late as the year 1888, Prof. S. V. Proudfit, in an article in the *American Anthropologist*, first advanced the idea that the so called "blades or blanks," found in many localities in considerable numbers, were unfinished flaked implements in process of manufacture. In the years 1889 and 1890, Prof. William H. Holmes, of the Smithsonian Institution of Washington, D. C., made a systematic examination of extensive prehistoric quarries, within the limits of Washington City, from which the aborigines had procured materials for

making stone implements, and his report, in the *American Anthropologist* in 1890, fully corroborates the theory of Prof. Proudfit, which is now generally accepted as correct.

Before this new light was thrown upon the subject, these "blades" were supposed to be the ruder fashioned flaked implements made by a people who inhabited the country at an earlier period than the makers of flint knives, arrow-points and spear-heads. The investigations of Prof. Holmes therefore marked a great step forward in the intelligent understanding of the origin and manufacture of flaked stone implements.

The fact that blanks or blades are frequently found buried in the earth in quantities, may be corroborative of the theory of their being uncompleted implements in a manner which both Professors Proudfit and Holmes seem to have overlooked in their able discussion of the subject.

Flint has the property of flaking to the best advantage immediately after being taken from the quarry, and loses this quality to some extent on exposure to the air, by becoming hard and brittle.¹¹ It seems reasonable that if by exposure the air has driven off some of the moisture contained in the flint, it might be recharged by being buried again in the damp earth.

An analogous case occurs in the process of wire-drawing, when, by continued drawing through the die the metal has become hard and short grained, it is annealed by reheating under proper conditions, thus becoming soft and ductile again. In this view of the matter the man of the Stone Age, even like ourselves, exercised the faculty of reasoning from cause to effect, and made the chemistry of nature do his bidding.

11. *Encyclopedia Britannica*: Article Flint, IX pages 325-327.

THE FIELD.

The collection of relics which has given rise to this paper, being principally of local character, having been gathered in the region of the Wyoming Valley and along the Susquehanna River, it seems appropriate to make some general remarks about the field covered by it.

An examination of the map of Pennsylvania shows that the North Branch of the Susquehanna River, from the New York State line to its junction with the West Branch at Northumberland, Pa., runs almost continuously through a mountainous country.

The mountain ranges extend for miles on both sides of the river east and west. In early times all of this region was heavily timbered, except perhaps some of the sandy bottom lands along the river, and, compared with its area, there were few places easily adapted to the use of the aborigines in planting their crops of corn, potatoes and other vegetables.

In this respect the region was very different from the prairies and broad treeless plains of the West.

While the inhabitants along the Susquehanna may have largely supplemented their crops by hunting and fishing, for the forests were full of game and the river teemed with fish, it is altogether probable that the field under consideration was never so thickly occupied by a permanent population as the more favored regions of the South and West, the broad valleys of New York on the North and the smooth sandy regions of New Jersey on the East.

The Indian did not have the steel axe and saw, nor the iron plow and other agricultural implements of the white man, so that even if, by infinite labor and pains, he had succeeded in clearing the land of timber, his crude and weak stone implements would soon have been broken in his efforts to cultivate the stony ground so common on the hill-

sides and in the mountain valleys. The region is not now nor was it in years past specially adapted for farming purposes. The malarial fevers too, which were much more prevalent along the river bottoms in years past than they are at this date, no doubt affected the red man as they have his white brother, and could easily have been avoided by building his wigwam in a dryer and clearer atmosphere.

Although the permanent population along the Susquehanna River may not have been very large, there were undoubtedly some tribes always living there.¹² The region was on the line of travel to all points North, South, East and West. The river was doubtless one of the chief highways between points in the St. Lawrence River region on the North and the Potomac River region on the South, and the trails of the aborigines no doubt led them through every "notch" or gap in the mountains when making their journeys between the East and the West, thus avoiding a direct climb over the mountains.

The Appalachian mountain range, running through this region, has a characteristic which is not common to any other mountains in the world, in this, that the rivers and even small streams frequently have their courses directly through the mountains, cutting the strata crosswise, instead of running parallel to the length of the mountain as streams usually do.

Illustrations of this peculiarity are seen on the Delaware River at Delaware Water Gap and Martin's Creek, on the Susquehanna River at Pittston, Nanticoke, Shickshinny and Northumberland, along the entire course of the Lehigh

12. The writings of the Europeans who, at an early date, came in contact with the aborigines, speak of the tribes living east of the Alleghany Mountains and along the Atlantic Coast as the finest type of Indians on the American Continent in intelligence, courage, strength and beauty of person. They were also the most advanced in their forms of systematic government and mode of living.

Prof. William Elliott Griffis, in his address before the Wyoming Monument Association, July 3, 1903, described the Iroquois at the time of Sullivan's Campaign as "the finest type of pagan savage in the world."

River from White Haven to Lehigh Gap, where for a distance of about thirty miles the river cuts the mountains in two, at several places along the Schuylkill River and on the Potomac River at Harper's Ferry, Va. In the immediate field under consideration small streams or creeks break through the mountains, in this way, at Wyoming, Luzerne, West Nanticoke, Hunlock's Creek and Shickshinny. At the places where these small streams enter the river there would consequently be junction points between the travel by river and by trail. These points were frequently the locations of important villages, and were no doubt the seat of much barter and trade; at one of them the writer thinks he has found the workshop and storehouse of an ancient arrow-maker, having secured there several thousand arrow-points and other implements.

In the immediate vicinity of the Wyoming Valley, camps were located at most of the principal bends of the river, on the lower bank, or the one against which the current flowed. This seems to be notably the case at points from which an extended view upstream could be had. Such locations may have been chosen because the war parties of the Iroquois, who were frequently at strife with the Algonquins, made their forays into the enemy's country by canoe from up the river, and their approach could the more readily be detected. Under favorable conditions, evidences of camp sites of greater or less extent may also be found at almost any point along the river where there was room for a lodgment and a little planting.

Beautiful Wyoming, set like a gem in the hills, and embracing by far the most considerable stretch of river bottom lands along the Susquehanna for many miles, was without doubt a point of great interest and importance to the Indians of all the regions round about. The highway of the river traversed its entire length, and the trails crossed it at a number of points. Fish abounded in the river, game was

plentiful in the mountains and forests in all directions, and the soil was rich and fertile.

In a scene so fair as this it requires but slight effort to picture in the mind an Indian village in the shade of the trees along the river's bank, canoes lying on the shore at the water's edge, and fields of yellow corn growing on the flat lands near by.

It may be that here the Indian mother, sitting at her wigwam door, in the warm dusk of a summer's evening, when the harvest moon bathed mountain and river and valley in its mellow light, was wont to sooth her babe to sleep with a soft lullaby.

INDIAN CRADLE SONG.¹³

Swing thee low in thy cradle soft
Deep in the dusky wood ;
Swing thee low and swing aloft—
Sleep as a papoose should ;
For safe is your little birchen nest,
Quiet will come and peace and rest,
If the little papoose is good.

The coyote howls on the prairie cold,
And the owlet hoots in the tree,
The big moon shines on the little child
As it slumbers peacefully ;
So swing thee high in thy little nest,
And swing thee low and take the rest
That the night wind brings to thee.

The father lies on the fragrant ground,
Dreaming of hunt and fight,
And the lime-leaves rustle with mournful sound
All through the solemn night ;
But the little papoose in his birchen nest,
Is swinging low as he takes his rest,
Till the sun brings the morning light.

—*New York Press.*

13. All students of Indian folk lore agree that these people are possessed, in a high degree, of a fine poetic imagery, based largely on things in nature which they see about them.

The great variety of implements found and materials used in their manufacture would also indicate that the tribes of the region had considerable contact and intercourse with those of other regions; either by outside tribes visiting the Susquehanna section and leaving some of their implements behind them as evidence of their visits, or by local tribes traveling far from home to procure materials for their use.

The fact that but few implements from this section have been described or illustrated in publications devoted to the subject, while much attention has been given to those of other localities, does not seem, to the writer, to prove that the Susquehanna River region is lacking in numerous and interesting specimens, but rather that no large or complete collection has been systematically made, and but slight attention has been directed to such collections as exist. The collection of implements now in your Society rooms contains a large majority of the types of the section "East of the Mississippi River," as shown in "Prehistoric Implements," the work of Warren K. Moorehead, besides several types not there shown nor described. There is little doubt but that a more exhaustive search of the field will disclose a number of others.

MATERIALS.

It is no doubt true, as has been said by different writers, that the aborigines in many regions made most of their implements from local rocks found in the neighborhood of their camping and hunting grounds. It seems equally true that they traveled at times considerable distances to procure materials suitable for their purposes.

Because the geological formations exposed in the coal fields along the Susquehanna River are of comparatively recent origin and do not include the harder rocks of the lower geological measures most suitable for the making of flaked implements, it is altogether probable that the peoples

inhabiting this region procured most of their materials from sources outside of it. They did, however, find a part of it among the water-worn nodules of flint, quartzite, etc., which had been carried into the country by glacial action. The collection made by the writer, which has been deposited with your Society, contains specimens made of yellow, red, brown, blue, black, gray and green flint or jasper, quartz, fine and coarse grained quartzite, chert, chalcedony, obsidian, agatized wood, rhyolite, argillite, basanite, diorite, steatite or soap stone, red pigment (iron oxyde) and several others, scarcely any of which are found among the rocks belonging to the region.

In the year 1902 the writer had the pleasure, in company with Mr. A. F. Berlin of Allentown, Pa., of paying a visit to the numerous and extensive quarry pits near Macungie, Lehigh county, Pa., from which the materials were procured to make many of the flaked implements that are found along the Susquehanna, and of adding to his collection samples of the unworked materials. The indications are that these quarries were used for many years, perhaps centuries, as great quantities of various colored flints, quartz, quartzites, chalcedony and similar materials have been taken from them. Along the range of hills extending from the Delaware River in a southwesterly direction to the vicinity of Reading, Pa., a distance of about forty miles, there occur about two thousand depressions in the surface of the hillsides, each marking one of these quarry pits. Mr. A. F. Berlin has given much intelligent study to the subject of Archaeology, and was the first person to call attention to these quarries near his home, and was instrumental in having them examined by representatives of the University of Pennsylvania, and the Smithsonian Institution in the year 1890, a report of which was published in the *American Anthropologist*, Vol. VIII, page 80, etc.

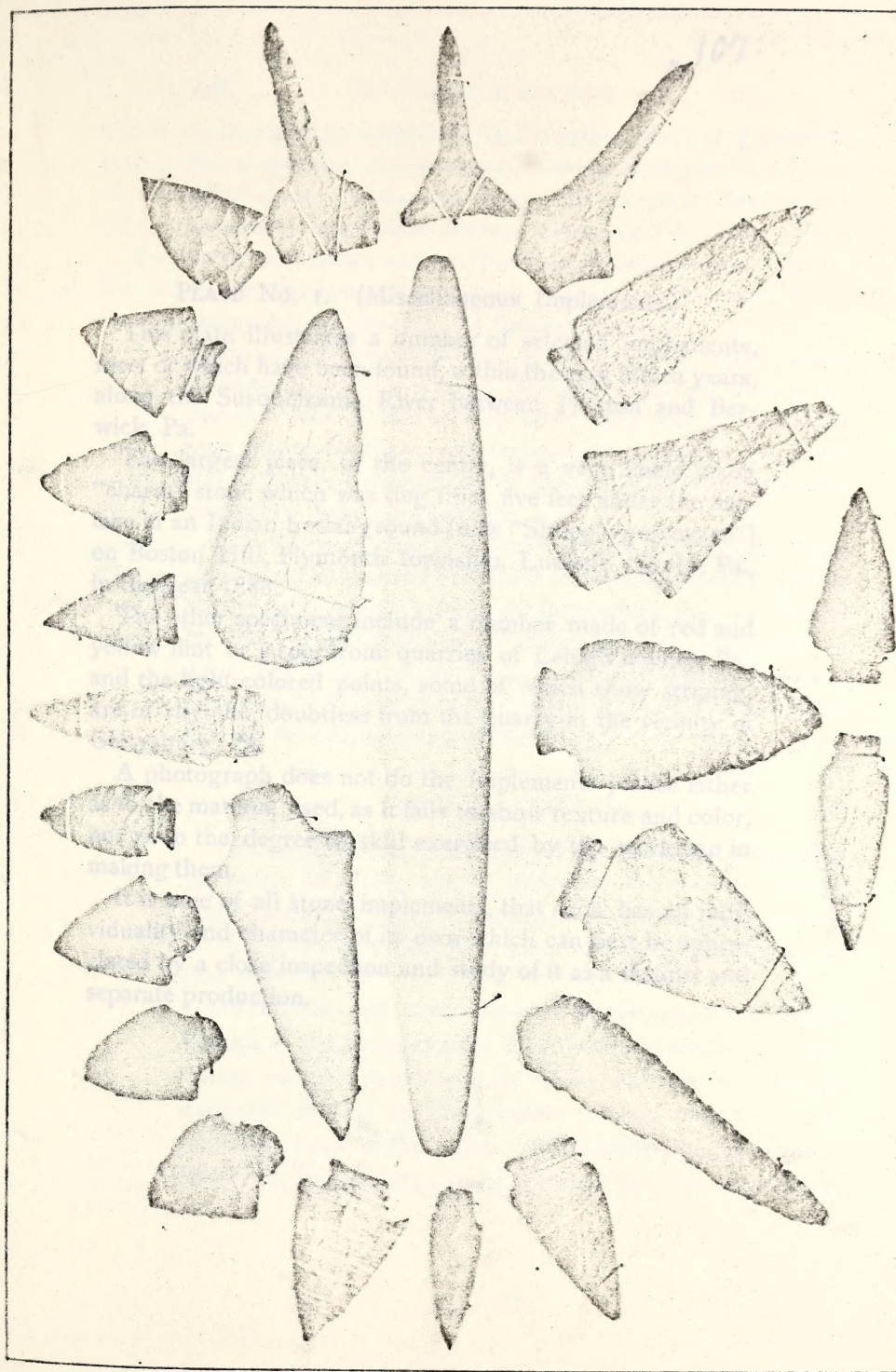


PLATE I. (One-half actual size.)
CHRISTOPHER WREN COLLECTION.

In the collection of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barré, Pa.

PLATE NO. I. (Miscellaneous Implements.)

This plate illustrates a number of selected implements, most of which have been found, within the past fifteen years, along the Susquehanna River between Pittston and Berwick, Pa.

The largest piece, in the centre, is a very finely made "charm" stone which was dug from five feet under the surface in an Indian burial-ground (now "Shupp's graveyard") on Boston Hill, Plymouth township, Luzerne county, Pa., in the year 1888.

The other specimens include a number made of red and yellow flint or jasper from quarries of Lehigh county, Pa., and the light-colored points, some of which show striping, are of rhyolite, doubtless from the quarry in the vicinity of Gettysburg, Pa.

A photograph does not do the implements justice either as to the material used, as it fails to show texture and color, nor as to the degree of skill exercised by the workman in making them.

It is true of all stone implements, that each has an individuality and character of its own which can best be appreciated by a close inspection and study of it as a distinct and separate production.

In company with John Q. Creveling, Esq., of Plymouth, Pa., a visit was also made to a source of supply of a black flinty stone, or basanite, from which some of the writer's specimens are made, located along Chillisquaque Creek about three miles west of Washingtonville, Montour county, Pa., in the latter part of 1902. The material found was of rather inferior quality for flaking, but as the examination made was merely superficial, a more careful search might discover it of better quality. Mr. Creveling had noticed the peculiar rock of this locality while on a visit to it when a boy, and no doubt during our visit we identified the material for the first time as having been used for making arrow-points and flaked implements.

A large percentage of the arrow and spear-points found along the Susquehanna is made of rhyolite, doubtless from the quarries in the vicinity of Gettysburg, Pa., discovered by Prof. G. H. Williams of Johns Hopkins University in 1892, and examined by Prof. W. H. Holmes in the same year, which he reported in the XV Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, page 74, etc.

THE COLLECTION.

Two occurrences in the early part of the year 1902 led the writer to devote special time and attention to making this collection of relics of the Stone Age, a subject to which he had given some attention for a number of years prior to that date.

During the first three days of March, 1902, the North Branch of the Susquehanna River was affected by a freshet during which it overflowed its banks and rose to a height exceeded only by the great freshet of 1865, since white settlers have lived in the valley. The waters rose at Wilkes-Barre, Pa., to a point 31 feet 3 inches above low water mark,

which, according to the best information obtainable, was 18 inches less than the 1865 freshet. This rise in the river caused mad currents to flow over the flat lands and washed off a considerable portion of the surface soil in many places.

Having special reference to the river banks at Plymouth, the freshet of 1902 swept away parts of the surface which had not been at all affected by the earlier freshet.¹⁴ This is to be accounted for, in part, by changes which had taken place upon the river banks during the intervening thirty-seven years. In 1865 the lands along the river at Plymouth were farm fields devoted to growing crops and the river had a free course over the entire "flats" when it rose above its banks. In 1902, owing to the great development of the Anthracite coal business, the entire river frontage reaching from Ferry street westward to Coal street, a distance of about one and a quarter miles, was covered with culm or dirt banks, the refuse from the coal mines.¹⁵ These banks are from thirty to fifty feet high and completely shut off, from Plymouth, the view of the mountains across the river. When the freshet of 1902 occurred these great hills of coal dirt diverted the waters of the river and made them run in a much narrower channel than formerly. The result on the Shawnee "flats" was, that the "Perch Ponds" near the river's edge were entirely destroyed, by the intervening bank being washed away, and considerable portions of the surface soil at other points were also swept off; the old level, which was the surface at the time when the Indians occupied the locality for camp sites, was laid bare, and many camp fires

14. Where the surface was protected by a grass sod, or even by the stubble of the previous year's grain crop, the small roots and fibres held the soil together and there was little or no action of the water in cutting away the surface.

15. In the year 1902 large coal "washeries" were built near these culm banks for extracting the smaller sizes of coal, which in earlier times had been treated as waste, and for running the finer dirt into the abandoned underground workings to support the roof. In all probability the next thirty years will see the entire disappearance of these unsightly piles.

and stone implements was exposed to view, the writer having the good fortune to secure a number of them.

The action of the river during ordinary high water, when the currents do not flow with sufficient force or strength to cut away the top soil, is to raise the surface of the valley by precipitating the silt or alluvium which the waters hold in suspense.¹⁶

Another interesting fact, in this connection, was that the old surface level thus uncovered had undergone a change and appeared to be taking on the nature of rock, having reached the degree of hardness of what is commonly known as "hardpan." This suggests the interesting speculation whether, if the operations of nature had not been interrupted, this silt might not have become a true rock? The farmers who attempted to plow these water-swept lands could make but little impression upon them, the plow not penetrating the soil to a greater depth than about one inch. After the elements, the sun, rain, frost and snow of a year had acted upon this hardpan, it became soft and porous again, and in the year 1903 could be worked fairly well with farm implements, and the lapse of time will no doubt further improve it for farming purposes.

These remarks are entirely aside from the subject of Indian relics, but perhaps the observation, under such favorable conditions, of the phenomena described, may have some interest to the miner, to whom the kind of "roof" or rock over his mine is of prime importance, or they may even suggest some idea of practical value to the tiller of the soil.

The other occurrence in the Spring of 1902, spoken of, was the great strike among the Anthracite coal miners of

16. As careful measurements as could be made showed the rise in the surface of the valley, at this point (Shawnee Flats) from such precipitation, to have been about twelve (12) inches, since the time it was occupied as camp sites. As but few Indians have lived in the Wyoming Valley during the past one hundred and fifty years, the average rise in the surface of the soil from river freshets may be approximated.

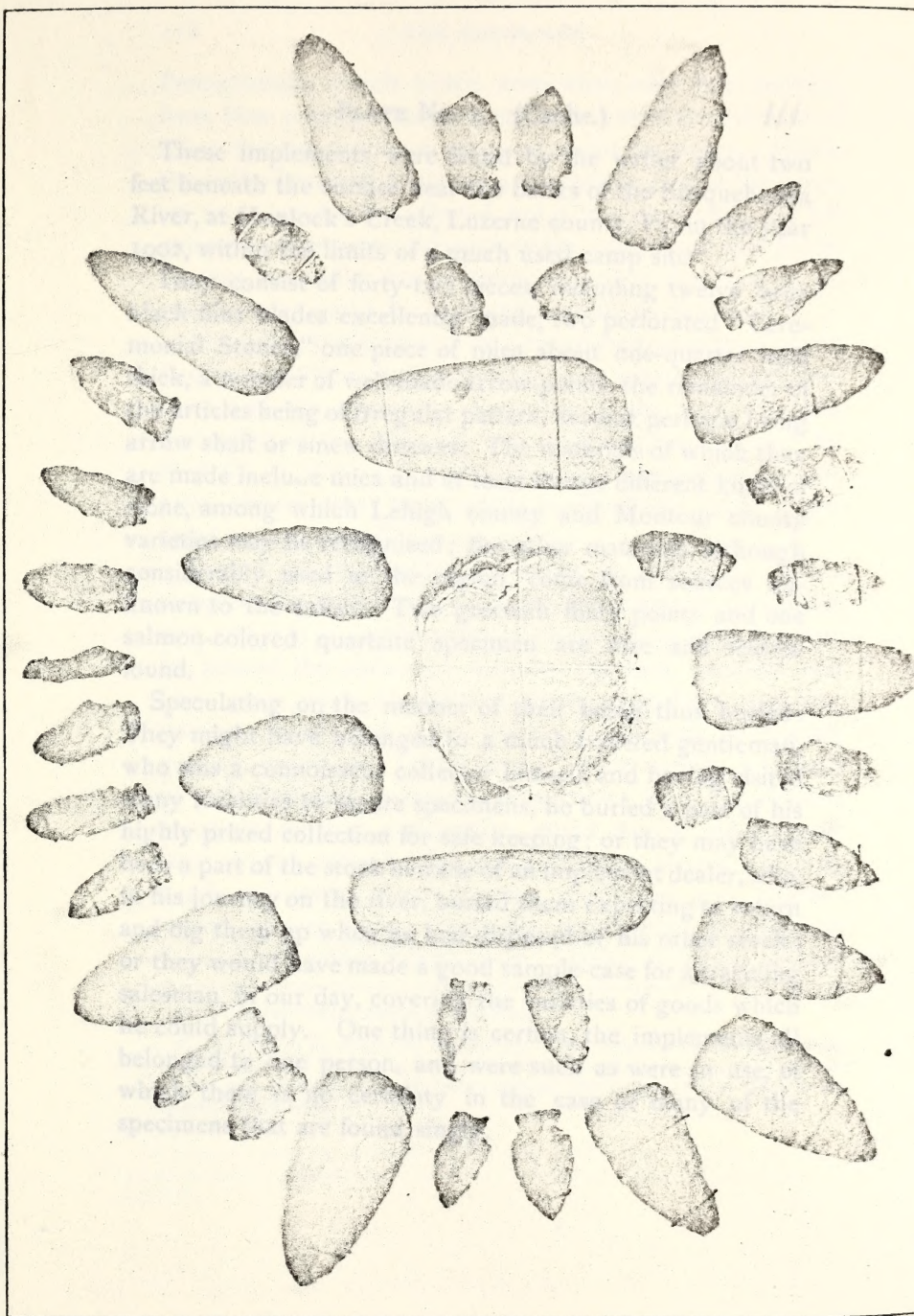


PLATE 2. (One-third actual size.)

CHRISTOPHER WREN COLLECTION.

In the collection of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barré, Pa.

These implements were found by the writer about two feet beneath the surface near the banks of the Susquehanna River, at Hunlock's Creek, Luzerne county, Pa., in the year 1902, within the limits of a much used camp site.*

They consist of forty-two pieces, including twelve large black flint blades excellently made, two perforated "Ceremonial Stones," one piece of mica about one-quarter inch thick, a number of well-made arrow-points, the remainder of the articles being of irregular pattern, several, perhaps, being arrow shaft or sinew dressers. The materials of which they are made include mica and at least twelve different kinds of stone, among which Lehigh county and Montour county varieties may be recognized; the other materials, although considerably used in the region, come from sources unknown to the writer. Two greenish flinty points and one salmon-colored quartzite specimen are rare and seldom found.

Speculating on the manner of their being thus buried: They might have belonged to a much traveled gentleman, who was a connoisseur collector himself, and having visited many localities to secure specimens, he buried a part of his highly prized collection for safe keeping; or they may have been a part of the stock in trade of an implement dealer, who, in his journey on the river, buried them expecting to return and dig them up when he had disposed of his other stock; or they would have made a good sample-case for a traveling salesman, in our day, covering the varieties of goods which he could supply. One thing is certain, the implements all belonged to one person, and were such as were in use, of which there is no certainty in the case of many of the specimens that are found singly.

Pennsylvania, which lasted somewhat over five months, from May 12th to October 21st, and caused the idleness of about 150,000 workmen engaged about the mines. While the strike lasted all business in the eastern part of the country was considerably affected, but it was most seriously felt among business men throughout the immediate coal fields. During the strike the writer managed to find time to go relic hunting under the favorable conditions described.

The writer's collection at the present time consists of about five thousand three hundred pieces, and a comparison between them and the specimens illustrated in the very complete discussion of the "Manufacture of Stone Implements" by Prof. W. H. Holmes,¹⁷ shows them to be substantially the same, almost every type which he illustrates being duplicated among them.¹⁸

Even if space permitted, it would be difficult to give a complete list or description of the specimens in the collection, and it is impossible even to give some of them a name. In general the collection includes hatchets, grooved and plain axes, pipes of different kinds, soapstone and clay pottery, arrow and spear points, saws, hoes or spades, gouges, cores or "Turtle backs," bone needle, polishers or tool-sharpeners, scrapers, drills, knives, celts, net sinkers, pendants, mortars and pestles, pitted stones, red pigment (iron oxyde), yellow ochre, beads, hammer stones, war club heads and points, sinew dressers, ceremonial and "charm" stones, banner stones, "butterfly ornaments," discoidal or "chungkee" stones, "anvil stone," blanks or blades, several

17. XV Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology.

18. In a letter to the writer Prof. Holmes says: "As I understand it, you are working pretty nearly on the border line between the Atlantic coast Algonquians and Iroquoian peoples, and am rather inclined to believe that the relics of your district belong to the former than the latter."

small specimens, counterparts of the larger implements,¹⁹ a variety of unworked materials and chips thrown off in the process of flaking, a few specimens from England and other localities, besides several local types, which, up to this time, do not seem to have been described nor illustrated in any of the published literature and to which more particular attention is directed elsewhere in this article.

The writer in no sense claims to have said the last word upon any of the points which have come up in discussing this very interesting subject; but having turned them over in his mind, he has merely expressed opinions candidly and without reserve. If anything which he has advanced shall be of assistance in arriving at the full truth about stone implements, he will be pleased and gratified.

Neither does he pretend to any but the dilettanti's acquaintance with or knowledge of the subject, and has therefore made no effort to treat it in a scientific or technical manner; but rather, by investing it with somewhat of human interest, by giving it a touch of local color, and by a careful statement of ascertained facts, he has endeavored to make it interesting and entertaining and, mayhap, instructive and edifying.

He believes that the subject will not receive the attention of which it is worthy until the student recognizes a brother in the rude savage standing at the door of his hut, with his children and their mother behind him, clothed in rude garments, armed with a great club and a crude stone-tipped

19. These consist of a small pestle adapted to a child's strength, and considerably used, being simply a water-worn pebble, with what seems to be a mark for identification upon it; several small hatchets and celts, copies in miniature of the larger ones. Children being imitative and much in the company of their parents, whose every act they admire, what more probable than that the children of these people wished to do the same things as they saw their elders do every day, and to gratify them that the little girl was given a "corn grinder," and the little boy a hatchet, a celt and a bow and arrow?

The little girls of to-day are supplied with a great variety of toys, covering almost the entire range of household utensils, and to the boy is given a gun—for he would be a soldier.

stick, looking out upon nature with steady eye and courage in his face, and saying to all the world, "This is my brood, I stand between them and harm," and shall come to feel that there stood a MAN and brother to a King.

AFTER WORD.

We have been far afield, where simple nature, as yet unmarred by man's rude hand, still bore the impress of its Maker fresh upon it; and, turning homeward we pause a moment where, in the cool shades of the forest of Arden, the exiled Duke holds rustic court with his loyal followers about him:

* * * * *

"Here feel we but the penalty of Adam,
The season's difference, as the icy fang
And the churlish chiding of the winter's wind,
Which when it bites and blows upon my body,
Even till I shrink with cold, I smile and say,
'This is no flattery; these are counsellors
That feelingly persuade me what I am;'
Sweet are the uses of adversity,
Which like the toad, ugly and venomous,
Wears yet a precious jewel in his head;
And this our life exempt from public haunt
Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
Sermons in stones and good in everything."

—*As You Like It. Act II, Scene 1.*

Here we part, each to his separate way, for now 'tis but a step o'er yonder hill, around the bend in yonder valley, and each may enter at his own hut door.

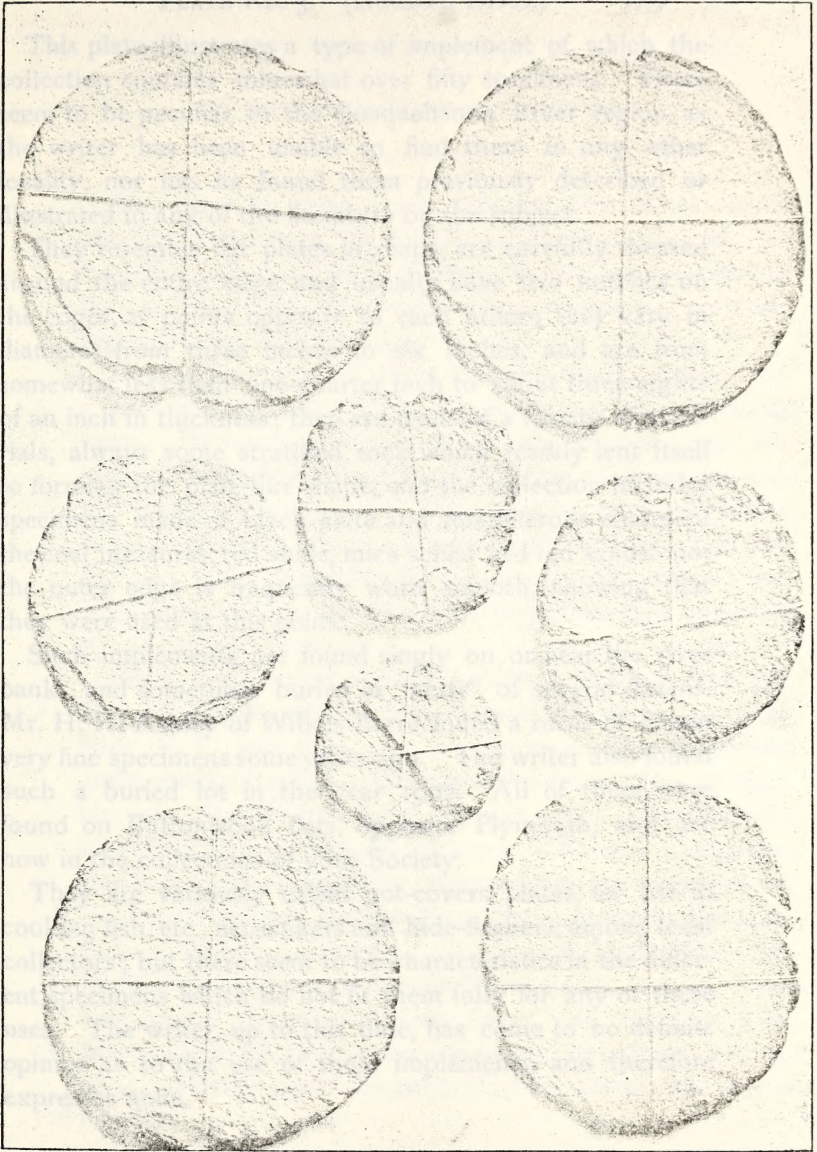


PLATE 3. (One-third actual size.)

In the collection of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barré, Pa.

This plate illustrates a type of implement of which the collection contains somewhat over fifty specimens. These seem to be peculiar to the Susquehanna River region, as the writer has been unable to find them in any other locality, nor has he found them previously described or illustrated in any of the literature on the subject.

They resemble flat plates in shape, are carefully dressed around the entire edge, and usually have two notches on the edges, at points opposite to each other; they vary in diameter from three inches to six inches, and are from somewhat less than one-quarter inch to about three-eighths of an inch in thickness; they are made of a variety of materials, always some stratified rock which readily lent itself to forming the plate-like shape, and the collection includes specimens made of black slate and fossiliferous shales of the coal measures, red shale, mica schist and red sandstone; the outer edge is frequently worn smooth, showing that they were used at this point.

Such implements are found singly on or near the river banks, and sometimes buried in "nests" of several dozens. Mr. H. H. Ashley of Wilkes-Barre found a *cache* of fifteen very fine specimens some years ago. The writer also found such a buried lot in the year 1902. All of these were found on Buttonwood flats, opposite Plymouth, and are now in the collections of your Society.

They are variously called pot-covers, plates, for use in cooking fish, etc., net-sinkers and hide-fleshers, among local collectors; but there seem to be characteristics in the different specimens which do not fit them fully for any of these uses. The writer, up to this time, has come to no definite opinion as to the use of these implements, and therefore expresses none.

JESSE FELL'S EXPERIMENTAL GRATE.

TESTIMONY OF AN EYE WITNESS.

The following letter from Colonel John Miner Carey Marble, President of the California National Bank of Los Angeles, Cal., dated July 15, 1903, throws some interesting light on the famed experiment of Judge Jesse Fell in burning anthracite coal, February 11, 1811.

David Thompson, of whom Colonel Marble speaks, was a landowner in Hanover and Newport townships for many years. He was elected a Justice of the Peace in 1849. He married Susan Saylor and had three sons, of whom one was Dr. William Thompson of Luzerne, who practiced in this county for many years, and served as Surgeon 133d and 42d and 198th Pennsylvania Volunteers, 1862-1865. David Thompson is remembered by old citizens here as a man of honesty and veracity.

From the Luzerne County records it appears that one Mary Richards married, first, Samuel Thompson, of Schoharie, N. Y., who died 1795, leaving one son, David (*supra*), and probably Reuben. She married, second, Eleazar Marble, who died Wilkes-Barré, August, 1805. Eleazar and Mary Marble administered the estate of Samuel Thompson, and in January, 1811, Mary, relict of Eleazar, conveyed to Reuben Thompson land in Wyoming granted by Pennsylvania to Solomon Johnson. Eleazar and Mary (Richards) Marble were parents of Martin Marble, who married Hannah, grand daughter of John Carey, and had Col. John Miner Carey Marble. John Carey, by will, dated Feb. 9, 1844, made his grand daughter Hannah Marble one of his legatees.

Solomon Johnson died, Wilkes-Barré, December 28, 1808.

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David Thompson, of whom Colonel Marble speaks, was a landowner in Hanover and Newport townships for many years. He was elected a Justice of the Peace in 1849. He married Susan Saylor and had three sons, of whom one was Dr. William Thompson of Lusk, who practiced in this county for many years, and served as Surron 133d and 43d and 19th Pennsylvania Volunteers 1862-1865. David Thompson is remembered by old citizens here as a man of honesty and veracity.

From the Lusk County records it appears that one Mary Richards married, first, Samuel Thompson, of Schoharie, N. Y., who died 1795, leaving one son, David (later), and probably Reuben. She married, second, Eleazar Marble, who died Wilkes-Barre, August, 1805. Eleazar and Mary Marble administered the estate of Samuel Thompson, and in January, 1811, Mary, relict of Eleazar, conveyed to Reuben Thompson land in Wyoming granted by Pennsylvania to Solomon Johnson. Eleazar and Mary (Richards) Marble were parents of Martin Marble, who married Hannah, grand daughter of John Carey, and had Col. John Miner Carey Marble. John Carey, by will, dated Feb. 9, 1844, made his grand daughter Hannah Marble one of his legatees.

Solomon Johnson died, Wilkes-Barre, December 28, 1808.

This simple description of the grate used by Jessie Fell in his experiment settles the question of the supposed "hickory grate," and probably the shape of the iron grate made by his nephew.

H. E. H.

VAN WERT, O., *July 15, 1903.*

"I have read very carefully the Proceedings and Collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society for the year 1901. I found the volume very interesting. I notice a good deal of interest evinced in the history of the first use of stone coal for domestic fuel, and thought that the memory of a man, well known to your older people, who was present at Judge Fell's first experiment, might be of interest to your Society.

"On July 6, 1878, I visited my uncle David Thompson, who was a half-brother of my father. Owing to having been raised from infancy by my great-grandfather, John Carey of Careytown, I knew little of my father's people, and asked him to give me what memories and history he could, which he was very happy to do. This date, you will note, is near an important celebration you held at Wilkes-Barré, in which he felt much interested, and volunteered the following:

"Judge Fell and Solomon Johnson had been for some time talking up this matter of burning stone coal. Mr. Johnson in those days boarded with my grandmother Marble, who then lived on Main street above the Square. Judge Fell then lived on Northampton street. They finally concluded to make an experiment, and took some pieces of iron about two feet long and laid them on the andirons, which were placed against the chimney wall. They laid brick flat on the end of the irons and laid iron on the brick in front four bricks high. They then built a strong fire of hickory wood in the improvised grate. The bellows spoken of so frequently were only used to blow the wood fire. Af-

ter the wood fire was burning strong they procured coal from Judge Fell's nephew's blacksmith shop near by (Edward Fell) and put it on the fire, and were gratified to find, after the wood had burned out, a fine coal fire; so satisfactory that Judge Fell had his nephew Edward at once construct a grate, which was put in place next day.'

"Uncle David Thompson was present during the whole time, and further stated that there was a great rush of people to see the fire, as much so as there would have been to see the first steamboat.

"At present I cannot fix the date of the incident or the age of my uncle. His mother, Mary Richards, was born March 22, 1766. She was married to his father, Mr. Thompson, who died in 1795. She then married my grandfather Marble, who died in 1805.

"Eleazar Blackman had a great deal of coal on his land. One day, after it was known that stone coal could be used as domestic fuel, Esquire [Samuel] Jamison was talking to him and enquired why he did not burn coal. His reply was: 'I want a fire I can force.'

"David Thompson's life was, much of it, passed in the south end of the valley at or near Nanticoke. Old settlers that knew him will assure you of the reliability of his word and memory, and the incident occurred when he was at an age that it would likely be permanently impressed on his mind. * * *

Sincerely,

"JOHN MINER CAREY MARBLE."

COUNT ZINZENDORF
AND THE MORAVIAN AND INDIAN OCCUPANCY
OF THE WYOMING VALLEY,
1742-1763.

BY

FREDERICK C. JOHNSON, M. D.,
Treasurer of the Society.

READ BEFORE THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY MAY 19, 1894.

In reading the records of the Moravian Church, and the diaries of its intrepid missionaries, one is struck with the frequent references to Wyoming Valley. For a score of years prior to the advent of the first hardy pioneers from Connecticut, in 1762, Wyoming (in common with the valley of the Susquehanna above and below) had become familiar ground to the fearless evangelists from Bethlehem, in the neighboring county of Northampton, whose self-sacrificing heroism, in planting the banner of the cross on this hostile frontier, challenges admiration.

To follow in the footsteps of the Moravian missionaries as they went through our valley, is more than a mere local study. It is a part of the thrilling history of the American colonies, with the French and Indian wars as a central idea, and to make the most of such a study, the scope of vision would have to include much of the colonial history of that period.

The Moravian Church—United Brethren is its official name—has always been preëminently a missionary organization. No sooner had its pioneers from the old world, who had come to the New World in search of religious liberty, landed on our shores, than they longed to win the souls of the heathen savages to Christianity. Among these missionary attempts was the one which especially claims

attention in this paper—the evangelization of the Six Nations Indians, on whose extensive domain Wyoming was one of the fairest spots. They hoped, though the hope was never fully realized, to make Wyoming a chief base for their missionary labors among the Indians.

In nearly all of their itinerancies, whether to the forks of the Susquehanna on the south (present Sunbury) or to Onondaga,¹ the Iroquois capital (present Syracuse), on the north, their path lay through Wyoming. Their adventurous hardships, their joys and griefs, triumphs and defeats are told in faithful detail in the diaries which they assiduously kept from day to day, and which were deposited at Bethlehem in the archives of the mother church.

Some of these journals have appeared in part in the publications of the Moravian Historical Society and elsewhere. Others remain among the manuscript archives. I have seen these quaint old diaries of their wanderings, some in German, some in English, and have had made copies and translations of such diaries as describe journeys to Wyoming. I have also drawn freely on the *Life of Zeisberger* by Bishop de Schweinitz (who was a great-grandson of Zinzendorf), *Reichel's Memorials of the Moravian Church*, manuscript notes of John W. Jordan in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and on other historical publications too numerous to mention.

MORAVIANS ARRIVE IN PENNSYLVANIA.

Driven by persecution in Germany to the new Western world, the Moravians had founded a settlement in Georgia

1. Onondaga was the seat of the warlike and powerful confederacy of the Six Nations. Deputies from the confederated tribes met from time to time at the "Great Council" fire to consider questions of peace or war. The region round about Onondaga was called the "Long House." The Six Nations—Onondagas, Senecas, Mohawks, Cayugas, Oneidas and Tuscaroras—held absolute supremacy over present New York and Pennsylvania, and they claimed authority over tribes to the west and south. Sometimes they formed alliances with the French and sometimes with the English. During the Revolution they were allies of the English, and cruelly ravaged the frontier settlements.

in 1735, but it was abandoned owing to the breaking out of war between England and Spain in 1739, and most of the colonists sought safety in the North. They arrived in Philadelphia in 1740 in the sloop of George Whitefield, the celebrated English evangelist of that day. He had been sent to Georgia by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, his associate in the work being John Wesley, afterwards the founder of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The Moravians settled in what was then called the "Forks of the Delaware" (the present Lehigh being then considered a branch of the Delaware), and founded Bethlehem and Nazareth. Bethlehem received its name on Christmas Eve, 1741, at the hands of the distinguished Moravian leader, Count Nicholas Louis von Zinzendorf,² then on a visit to America from Saxony. The pious nobleman was at this time forty-two years of age. Bethlehem has ever since been the seat of the Moravian Church in America.

The histories say that Count Zinzendorf was the first white man to look upon Wyoming, but this is an error. The region had been penetrated by traders and probably by French explorers more than a century earlier.

Government messengers from Philadelphia had for sev-

2. Nicholas Louis, Count Zinzendorf, is the remarkable example of a man whose religion was so deep and vital as to inspire him to renounce the prospects of worldly distinction and devote his rank and fortune to the furtherance of the Gospel. He was born in Dresden, Germany, in 1700, and after receiving a university education, he resolved to embrace the ecclesiastical profession. Though himself a Lutheran, his sympathies were aroused for the United Brethren in Moravia.

As its adherents were undergoing persecution, he invited them to come to Saxony and take refuge on his estate, which some 500 of them were very glad to do in 1722 and the succeeding years.

In 1736 the intolerance from which the Moravians had fled extended to Saxony, and the Count was banished from his beloved Herrnhut, as his community was called. Driven from his home, he visited England and subsequently America. He returned to Europe in 1743, and subsequently the king of Saxony permitted him to return to Herrnhut, the government having meanwhile investigated the charges against the Moravians and proved them unfounded.

The Countess Zinzendorf dying in 1756, he took for his second wife Anna Nitschman who had accompanied him and his daughter in their travels in America. Many of the hymns sung by the Moravians were composed by Zinzendorf.

A lengthy poem on Zinzendorf was written by Mrs. Lucy H. Sigourney about 1835.

eral years passed up and down the Susquehanna bearing dispatches to and from the Six Nations, whose seat was in the lake region of New York. Certain it is that the valley of the Susquehanna was familiar ground to Conrad Weisser,³ the government interpreter, whose journal records that he passed through Wyoming in 1737, while returning to Philadelphia from a journey to the Onondaga country. But while others penetrated these forest wilds previous to Zinzendorf, to him must be ascribed the credit of being the first to leave a permanent impression on the region. Other white men had passed through, but that was all.

Zinzendorf's visit to Wyoming Valley was followed by a missionary occupancy on the part of the Moravians, which never ceased until the Indians yielded to the encroachments of the whites and disappeared from the valley of the Susquehanna.

INDIAN OCCUPATION OF WYOMING.

When the Moravians first visited Wyoming Valley in 1742, its Indian residents were Delawares, Monseys, Shawanese, Nanticokes, Mohicans and Wanamense, all of whom were vassals of the Iroquois by virtue of conquest. They were practically prisoners. They could not change their abode without consent, and they were liable to be sent else-

3. There is little doubt that a French traveler named Stephen Brule came down from Canada and explored the valley of the Susquehanna in 1615.

The Palatinates, who left the Mohawk Valley in 1723, and sought shelter in Pennsylvania, passed through Wyoming in their remarkable journey down the Susquehanna.

When Conrad Weisser passed through Wyoming in 1737 he found Dutch traders here.

A year before Zinzendorf's visit to Wyoming a Congregationalist missionary penetrated the region, though his stay was short. This was Rev. John Sergeant, who visited the Indians June 3, 1741. He was a graduate of Yale, and came from the Indian school at Stockbridge, Mass. In a letter dated June 23, 1741, he writes: "I am just returned from Susquahanna, where I have been to open the way for the propagation of the gospel among the Shawanoos." In opening his address to them he alluded to "the brothers who had seen so many mornings at Mukh-haw-waumuk." Sergeant was kindly received, but the Indians refused to embrace Christianity, and he returned discouraged, pitying their ignorance and praying God to open their eyes. June 7 he preached to the Indians on the Delaware.

David Brainard, a Presbyterian missionary, arrived at Wapwallopen. October 5, 1744, but did not go to Wyoming.

where whenever their imperious masters demanded. Probably the reason Wyoming was chosen as the abiding place of these vassal people, was that it lay on the great Iroquois highway between the north and the south, where they could be kept under constant supervision of their masters.

The earliest to occupy Wyoming Valley, so far as appears, were the Shawanese, whom Conrad Weiser found there in 1737, who were foes of the English. By permission of John Penn they had first located in Wyoming in 1701. Reichel believes that "they were placed at Wyoming by the Six Nations, who were confident that they could place no custodians more reliable than the ferocious Shawanese in charge of that lovely valley, which they designed to keep for themselves and their children forever." In 1728, when about 500 in number, the Six Nations had ordered them to move to the Ohio, and their empty cabins at Wyoming were taken by another contingent of Shawanese, who were transferred from near Lancaster. They had for their leader Kawkowatchie (or Gachawatschiqua), and it was these Shawanese whom Zinzendorf found at Wyoming in 1742. Besides their village where Plymouth stands, the Shawanese had another between Plymouth and Kingston, back of what is called Ross Hill, present Blindtown. There were also Shawanese villages at Fishing Creek and Brier Creek.

The Delawares called themselves Lenni Lenape, signifying "original people." The Monsies (or Minsies) and the Wanamese belonged to them. The Delawares had their council fire at Minisink, near the Delaware Water Gap, fifty miles southeast of Wilkes-Barre, and their hunting grounds extended from Easton, Pa., to the sea. They had a village near Scranton as early as 1728. They were vassals of the Iroquois, by whom they were ordered away from the Forks of the Delaware and given the option of locating either at Shamokin or at Wyoming. Nearly all went to Wyoming, but some chose Shamokin. So it happened that they had

become occupants of the valley of the Susquehanna in the same year that Zinzendorf and his followers first visited the region in 1742.

The leader of the Delawares was Teedyuscung, who was born about 1700 near Trenton, N. J., a locality in which his ancestors had been seated from time immemorial. They were gradually pushed northwardly by the settlements, and about 1730 located in Pennsylvania above the confluence of the Delaware and Lehigh Rivers, and finding no white men, they wandered wherever they found good hunting or fishing. But in a very few years the wilderness in the Forks began to be encroached upon by Scotch-Irish immigrants.

The Delaware Indians had been defrauded of their hunting grounds in the Forks by means of such unscrupulous measures as the "walking purchase of 1737," and it was only by appealing to their masters, the Six Nations, to expel them, that the Penns could obtain possession. The Six Nations treated them in the most insulting manner, and aroused in the breasts of the Delawares an animosity that never slumbered.

Humiliated beyond measure, and nursing a revenge that was to be gratified in after years with frightful atrocities upon a defenceless frontier, Teedyuscung and his followers left their hunting grounds in the Forks of the Delaware and repaired to their new home in the Susquehanna Valley, to which their tyrannical masters had assigned them. They built a town just below Wilkes-Barre.

At Nescopeck, 30 miles below Wilkes-Barre, was an important Delaware town, on the east bank of the Susquehanna. On the same stream, a little above the mouth of the Lackawanna, was the Delaware town of Asserughney, and there was a Delaware village at Tunkhannock and another at Wyalusing.

The Wanamense occupied the elevated land two miles north of Wilkes-Barre, named Jacob's Plains, for their chief.

The Monseys occupied Lackawanna Valley and had a town where Scranton now stands. Their leader was Capouse.

The Mohicans came with the Delawares in 1742 and built a village near Forty Fort at the mouth of a stream which has ever since borne the name of their chief, Abraham. Rising in Dallas township, it crosses Kingston township, runs through Wyoming borough, and flows into the Susquehanna at Forty Fort.

The Nanticokes had their village on the east bank of the Susquehanna near present Nanticoke. The Nanticokes were a dependency of the Iroquois, living along Chesapeake Bay. Their name in the several languages signified tide-water or sea-shore people. They passed up to Wyoming in 1748, either under the orders of the Iroquois or by their permission. Zeisberger says they were averse to the Gospel, and surpassed all the other Indians in their heathenism and sorcery. However, several became Moravian converts. Smallpox and ardent spirits carried off the greater part of the Nanticokes, so that in 1785 in Ohio there were scarcely fifty of them. They sided with the British, and ultimately settled in Canada, alongside the Shawanese, who had invited them.

The Valley was occupied by the Indians in greater or less numbers until 1763, when, upon the death of Teedyuscung, the aborigines departed. However, a few of them continued to visit the fertile plains of Wyoming for some years later, as shown by references in the diary of the Moravian Indian village at Wyalusing (1765-1772). A little before the abandonment of the Wyalusing mission by the Moravians in 1772, the Connecticut migration had set in, and with it disappeared all Indians from the valley of the Susquehanna.

ZINZENDORF'S VISIT.

Soon after the Moravians arrived in Pennsylvania, in 1740, they entered upon their project of evangelizing the Indians of Pennsylvania and New York. Zinzendorf believed the aborigines to be descendants of the Lost Tribes of Israel who had wandered across Asia, and reached the continent of America by Bering Strait.

Drawn, as he says, by a power which he could not resist, the Count had a strong desire to introduce the gospel among the Iroquois. But they were so savage and revengeful, and so under the influence of the French in Canada, that he concluded it would be wiser to operate through other tribes who were their vassals or allies.

With this in view he visited Wyoming in the autumn of 1742. But before going there he journeyed to the Indians in the Forks of the Delaware,⁴ and to the Mohicans on the Hudson. He then went to the Indian town of Shamokin,⁵ the residence of the king of the Delawares and of the vice-

4. The name then given to the lands lying within the confluence of the Delaware and Lehigh. At that time the Lehigh was called the west branch of the Delaware. The Indian name for the Lehigh river was Lechau-weki (the fork of the road), abbreviated by the Germans into Lecha, and corrupted by the English into Lehigh.

5. Shamokin, in consequence of its commanding position at the point where the two branches of the Susquehanna River unite, and where the great trails converged, was the most important Indian town in the province of Pennsylvania.

The Six Nations held this as a strategic point at an early day and made it the seat of a viceroy or governor, who ruled for them the tributary tribes along the Susquehanna. It was therefore the most important Indian town south of Tioga Point.

Here the Iroquois warriors, in their return from marauds against the Cherokees and Catawbas, would halt and hold carousals for the last time before reaching Onondaga. Conrad Weisser visited the town in 1737. Martin Mack, who was the first missionary sent here by the Moravians, 1746, describes the place as "the very seat of the Prince of Darkness," and he says they were in constant danger from the drunken savages. Zeisberger and Post labored here.

David Brainard, who visited it the same year, says it had about fifty huts and three hundred inhabitants. Mack, at the request of Shikellimy, had the Moravians establish a blacksmith shop there in 1747, much to the convenience of the Indians. Owing to the outbreak of the French war the mission was abandoned in 1755.

The following year the provincial authorities built Fort Augusta, for which see Me-ginness' History of the West Branch Valley. The site of old Shamokin is occupied by Sunbury, the county seat of Northumberland county. The Shamokin of modern times is an entirely different town some twenty miles to the southeast.

roy of the Oneidas, near the confluence of the two branches of the Susquehanna, accompanied by several of the brethren and sisters, all on horseback. His companions were Böhler, Mack and wife, Anna Nitschmann,⁶ Leimbach, Weisser, David and Joshua.

They had for their guide up the West Branch, Shikellimy, the Oneida viceroy. They were compelled to ford streams, ride over lofty mountains and into deep valleys and marshes, and pass the nights in a tent which they carried with them.

After staying at Shamokin a short time he went to Otstonwakin, or French Town, where Madame Montour,⁷ an Indianized French woman from Quebec, was living, now

6. Anna Nitschman was born in Moravia in 1715, her father having suffered martyrdom for the faith. At the age of ten she and her parents took refuge at Herrnhut, where she early became interested in religion. At the age of fifteen she occupied an official position in the congregation. At the age of twenty-one she and others accompanied Count Zinzendorf into banishment, and four years later she joined the Moravians at Bethlehem. She accompanied Zinzendorf on his journey to Wyoming Valley in 1742, and thus writes in her diary: "Our last journey was into the heart of the Indian country, where we sojourned 49 days, encamping under the open heavens, in a savage wilderness amid wild beasts and venomous snakes." In 1757 she became the second wife of Count Zinzendorf, and died three years later.

7. "Madame Montour," as she was called, the grandmother of the atrocious "Queen Esther" Montour, was born about 1684, the daughter of a Frenchman named Montour, who had emigrated to Canada and married an Indian woman. Of their children Jean became a captain in the English service. The daughter's name is unknown, and she was always spoken of as "Madame" Montour. She was captured by the Iroquois in childhood, and married Carondowanna, or Big Tree, an Oneida chief, who adopted Robert Hunter as his English name. Though married she retained the name of Montour, in accordance with the Iroquois custom of handing down the family name through the female line as well as through the male line.

She and Hunter were living on the West Branch as early as 1727. She was a familiar figure in Indian affairs along the Susquehanna, and was a great influence among the aborigines. She acted at times as interpreter for the Provincial authorities. Her husband was slain in battle with the Catawbias, and in this loss John and Thomas Penn sent her a message of sympathy.

Zeisberger and Spangenburg visited the aged queen at Otstonwakin on the West Branch in 1745. Montoursville, a few miles east of Williamsport, perpetuates her name and marks the site of her village, Otstonwakin. Her son, Andrew Montour (Sattelihi) was extensively engaged as an interpreter for the Provincial authorities.

She had a daughter, "French Margaret Montour," who was mother of the Indian fury, "Queen Esther." Esther's Montour ancestors and relatives were all friends of the whites and rendered valuable services, but she was always their implacable foe, and after the battle of Wyoming she tomahawked a dozen or more prisoners with her own hand.

Andrew Montour, known also as Sattelihi, was employed by the Pennsylvania Proprietaries as interpreter for some years, and his services were invaluable. He often

Montoursville, in Lycoming county. He tells us that he addressed them in French.

They then set out for Wyoming, traveling overland. Conrad Weisser, the government interpreter, was temporarily called away on business for the Province, and Andrew Montour acted as their guide until Weisser should rejoin them. The journey through the wilderness from river to river occupied four days, and was marked by many hardships, the region being entirely unoccupied by whites, and having no other road than an Indian path.

"Leaving Otstonwakin," says Mack, "our way lay through the forest, over rocks and frightful mountains, and across streams swollen by heavy rains. This was a fatiguing and dangerous journey, and on several occasions we imperiled our lives in fording the creeks which ran with impetuous current. On the fifth day we reached Wyoming, and pitched our tent not far from the Shawanese town."

The travelers probably followed the "Warrior's Path" from the "Great Island" (Lock Haven), which skirted the

accompanied Conrad Weisser (who spoke Mohawk but not Delaware) and the Moravian missionaries in their negotiations with the Six Nations at Onondaga. During the war with the French he was captain of a company of Indians in the English service and rose to major. The French feared him to such an extent that they offered £100 for his death or capture.

Twenty years later he was the leader of Indian raids upon the white settlements. He was a son of Madame Montour and an uncle of "Queen Esther" Montour.

As to "French Margaret" Montour, Reichel gives the relationship in a slightly different manner. He makes her a niece and not a daughter of Madame Montour, and a cousin instead of a brother of Andrew Montour. Reichel says Mack met French Margaret and Andrew on the West Branch in 1745, that French Margaret was the wife of a Mohawk, and that she had banished liquor from her town. Her husband, Peter Quebec, had not drunk rum for six years when Mack was there. She treated the Moravian missionaries kindly. Reichel does not allude to Queen Esther being her daughter. French Margaret frequently acted as interpreter at treaties. She is said to have been an uncertain ally.

In July of 1754 French Margaret and her Mohawk husband and two grandchildren, traveling in semi-barbaric state, with an Irish groom and six relay and pack horses, passed through Bethlehem on their way to New York. During her stay she attended divine worship.

For details as to the Montours see W. H. Egle's "Notes and Queries," 3d series, vol. 1, p. 73; also an address by Sidney Roby Miner, "Queen Esther at Wyoming," in the transactions of the Wyoming Commemorative Association for 1894.

north bank of the West Branch (present Montoursville, a few miles east of Williamsport), some forty miles, and thence led due east through the present counties of Lycoming, Sullivan, Columbia and Luzerne, about seventy miles, to the Shawanese village in Wyoming Valley, on the west side of the Susquehanna, where is now Plymouth. Through the fastnesses of this primeval forest, says Reichel, never before traveled by white men save adventurous French traders like James Le Tort and Pierre Bizaillon, Andrew Montour guided these first evangelists to the heathen dwellers on the plains of Wyoming.

On reaching Wyoming Valley they were joined by the Brethren David Nitschmann, Anton Seiffert and Jacob Kohn, who had arrived from Bethlehem, by way of Shamokin, and thence up the Susquehanna by the Indian path to Wyoming. Kohn had just arrived from Europe bearing letters for Zinzendorf.

On their arrival at a point where is now Plymouth, Luzerne county, they encamped near the village of the Shawanese. Here Zinzendorf remained for three weeks, but the Indians gave little heed to his preaching. The only white men most of them had ever seen were traders, and Zinzendorf was naturally suspected of having business motives, too. The Indians were unfriendly in spite of the Count's generous distribution of presents, and their manner was threatening in the extreme.

One of his companions was John Martin Mack,⁸ who has

8. John Martin Mack, for many years a missionary among the Indians, was born in Wurtemberg in 1715. He was at this time 29 years of age. He was one of the Moravian Brethren who endeavored to open a work in Georgia in 1735. When the Brethren were compelled to abandon the Georgia mission, Mack accompanied them to Pennsylvania.

In 1742 he married Jeannette, daughter of John Rau, a Palatinate farmer, and was assigned to Shecomeco mission. Her familiarity with the Mohawk language made her a valuable assistant. Both Mack and Jeannette accompanied Zinzendorf to Wyoming in 1742.

The hostility to the Moravians was so great, owing to the charges that they were in league with the French, that he was arrested and forbidden to preach. The Shecom-

left an interesting journal of the expedition. At the time it was written twenty years had elapsed, Zinzendorf was dead, and Mack affectionately refers to the Count as the Disciple, that being one of the favorite terms which they associated with his beloved name and memory. He says:

"The reception by the savages was unfriendly, although from the first their visits were frequent. Painted with red and black, each with a large knife in his hand, they came in crowds about the tent again and again. He lost no time, however, in informing the Shawanese chief, through Andrew Montour, the half-Indian interpreter, of the object of his mission. This the wily savage affected to regard as a mystery, and replied that such matters concerned the white man and not the Indian. * * * Our stock of provisions was by this time almost exhausted, and yet the Disciple shared with the Indians what little was left. The very clothes on his back were not spared. One shirt button after another was given away, until all were gone, and likewise his shoe-buckles, so that we were obliged to fasten his underclothes with strings.

"For ten days we lived on boiled beans, of which we partook sparingly, as the supply was scanty. The suspicious manner which the Shawanese manifested on our first arrival remained unchanged, and at times their deportment was such as to lead us to infer that it would be their greatest delight to make way with us.

"Notwithstanding this, the Disciple remained in the town and made repeated efforts to have the object of his visit brought before the consideration of the chiefs. They, however, evaded every approach, and their disappointment at

eco mission had to be abandoned in 1744, in consequence of acts passed against the Moravians by the New York Assembly.

In 1746 he was one of those who founded Gnadenhutzen on the Mahoning, the Moravian mission that was destroyed by savages in 1755. He made frequent trips to the Indians of the West Branch, and in 1752 accompanied Zeisberger to Onondaga. In 1755 he made three visits to Wyoming. He was ultimately made a bishop, and died in the West Indies in 1784.

not receiving large presents gave unmistakable evidence of displeasure, so that we felt that the sooner we left the better it would be for us."

The whole world is familiar with Zinzendorf's adventure with the rattlesnakes, which occurred here. As the story is told in the histories, the savages were creeping up to the tent of Zinzendorf intending to kill him, when they saw a rattlesnake, startled by their approach, crawl over his body and disappear without harming him; that their superstitious natures prompted the idea that he was under the protection of the Great Spirit, and they abandoned their murderous design.

To his experience with the snakes the Count himself refers in one of his poems. For be it understood that while surrounded by the savages in the Wyoming Valley, and in danger of losing his life from their treachery, he was engaged with quiet courage and diligence in preparing a supplement to the collection of hymns then in use among the Moravian Brethren.

The story as related by Mack, who was an eye-witness, is quite different and much less picturesque. It is as follows:

"The tent was pitched on an eminence. One fine sunny day as the Disciple sat on the ground within, looking over his papers that lay scattered about him, and as the rest of us were outside, I observed two blow-snakes (*blase-schlange*) basking at the edge of the tent. Fearing that they might crawl inside, I moved toward them, intending to dispatch them. They were, however, too quick for me, slipped into the tent, and gliding over the Disciple's thigh, disappeared among his papers.

"On examination we ascertained that he had been seated at the mouth of their den. Subsequently the Indians informed me that our tent was pitched on the site of an old burying-ground in which hundreds of Indians lay buried. They also told us that there was a deposit of silver ore in

the hill, and that we were charged by the Shawanese with having come for the silver and for nothing else.⁹

"This statement proved to be a fiction invented by the wily savages in order to afford them some grounds for an altercation with us, and to bring us into general disrepute; for we subsequently learned that the hill on which our tent had been pitched was not the locality of the precious ore.

"On the following day we moved higher up the Susquehanna, and here was the extreme limit of our journey. The words of the hymn, 'Der viert' ein unwegsame Spitz, Der Susquehanna quellen,' allude to this encampment. The Disciple, I have no doubt, was led to this point, in order to have an opportunity of reading his letters from Europe and Bethlehem undisturbed, and to be farther away from the Indians. We now returned to our second encampment, where the Disciple formally laid his proposition before the Shawanese chief. The latter, however, turned a deaf ear to our approaches, and grew vehement.

"Upon this the Disciple produced the string of wampum that the sachems of the Six Nations had given him at Tulpehocken,¹⁰ when starting on the journey, but even its authoritative presence failed to move the savages in their determination or to mollify their murderous intentions.

"We were completely foiled, and saw that our mission was a failure. This might have been owing to misstate-

9. Spangenburg's *Life of Zinzendorf*, p. 310, says:

"The Five Nations, who imagine that great treasures and rich silver mines lie concealed in Wayomik, ceded that part of the country to the Shawanese in order by these means to prevent any Europeans from coming thither and discovering them."

This long current tradition never had any foundation in fact, though vast deposits of coal subsequently made the Wyoming Valley one of the richest localities in the world.

10. While on the way from Philadelphia to Bethlehem, Zinzendorf had felt drawn by some irresistible influence to go to Tulpehocken, where dwelt his interpreter and guide, Conrad Weisser, who was to accompany him to the Susquehanna. "He knew not *why* he should direct his steps thither, but he could not throw off the idea that duty called him to that place. Accordingly he sent most of his cavalcade directly to Bethlehem, while he turned towards the west through the present counties of Lehigh and Berks, and in three or four days found himself at Tulpehocken. Here

ments made by our interpreter¹¹ to the Shawanese, who, as we subsequently learned, had not been fully in our interests."

"One day Jeannette, on returning from the town from visiting the Indians, informed Zinzendorf that she had met with a Mohican woman in the upper town, who, to her unspeakable joy, had spoken to her of the Saviour. This intelligence deeply affected him. He rose up and bade us go with him in search of her, and in the interview that followed he magnified the love of Jesus to her in terms of the most persuasive tenderness.

"This woman now became our provider, furnishing us with corn and corn-bread, until we could secure other supplies. Hymns No. 1853 and 1854 in supplement XI of the Hymn-book contain allusions to her; and the Disciple's prayer in her behalf, expressed in the 18th stanza of the former, has been heard and answered.

"On another occasion, on informing him that I had seen Chikasi, he asked me to find him and bring him into his presence. To him also he extolled the Saviour's love. [Chikasi was a Catawba who had been brought a captive

he met the deputies of the Six Nations, then on their return from their conference with Governor Thomas in regard to the Delawares remaining east of the Blue mountain; this tribe being at that period under the control of the powerful confederacy near the great lakes. The Count became acquainted with the chiefs, gained their good will, and ratified a covenant with them in behalf of the Brethren as their representative; and a belt of wampum was given him as a token of their friendship, which was used ever afterwards in the dealings of the Moravians with the Iroquois. By this treaty the count believed the way would be opened for the spread of the gospel among the Northern Indians, and this explained to his own mind the cause of the vivid impression that he ought to repair to the distant spot, where he unexpectedly met them. His hope of Christianizing the fierce warriors of the northern border was not realized, but the Moravians would never have been able to accomplish as much as they did among the Delawares and Mohicans if they had not secured by this interview the amity of those who held sway over the enfeebled clans near the sea coast."

11. This is how the interpreter, Andrew Montour, is described by Zinzendorf: "Andrew's cast of countenance is decidedly European, and I would have taken him for one had not his face been encircled with a broad band of paint applied with bear grease. He wore a brown broadcloth coat, a scarlet damasken lappel-waistcoat, breeches, over which his shirt hung, a black handkerchief, decked with silver bugles, shoes, stockings and hat. His ears were hung with pendants of brass and other wires plaited together."

to Wyoming by the Iroquois on their return from a maraud to the South.]

"One day, having convened the Indians in the upper town, he laid before them his object in coming to Wyoming, and expressed the desire to send people among them that would tell them words spoken by their Creator. Most of these were Mohicans, and not as ill disposed towards us as the Shawanese. Although they signified no decided opposition, they stated their inability to entertain any proposals without the consent of the Shawanese, according to whose decision they were compelled to shape their own. Should these assent, they said they would be satisfied. My Jeannette acted as interpreter of what passed during this meeting."

Not long after this the suspicious Shawanese laid a plot to murder Zinzendorf, but Conrad Weisser, now returned from Tulpehocken, reached the valley, alarmed at the Count's continued absence, and filled with a presentiment of the danger which threatened the Moravians.

The presence of Weisser, who was the government agent, and the bold authority with which he treated the Shawanese, held in check their wicked intention, though vagabond savages continued to swarm around their tent, by day and by night, in such a threatening manner, that Zinzendorf warned us to be on our guard and not even to accept provisions from them.

The Moravians accordingly returned to Bethlehem, Mack, Jeannette, Nitschmann and Andrew Montour going across the Wilkes-Barre and Pocono mountains, the Count and several others taking the path down the river to Shamokin.

Mack tells an adventure which illustrates the Count's patience and cheerful fortitude. "I once rode out with the Disciple and Anna Nitschmann. There was a creek in our way, in a swampy piece of ground. Anna and myself led in crossing, and with difficulty succeeded in crossing the further bank, which was steep and muddy. But the Disciple

was less fortunate, for in attempting to climb the bank his horse plunged, broke the girth, and his rider rolled off backwards into the swamp, and the saddle upon him. It required much effort on my part to extricate him, and when I had at last succeeded, he kissed me and said, 'My poor brother, I am an endless source of trouble.' (Du armer Brüder! Ich plage dich doch was rechtes!) Unfortunately we had no change of clothing and had to dry ourselves by the campfire. Adventures of this kind befell us more than once."

During this tour Zinzendorf was absent from Bethlehem seven weeks, and endured many hardships and severe labors in his efforts to observe the customs and character of the tribes with whom he came in contact, and to prepare the way for conveying to them the blessings of civilization and Christianity. He had no desire to be spoken of or addressed by his title, "the Count," and was called sometimes "Brother Lewis," as that was one of his given names, and "The Disciple" in later years.

This was the last visit Zinzendorf ever made to the Indians. After his return to the vicinity of Philadelphia he remained in this country about two months, and left New York for Europe January 20, 1743, having been in our state more than a year. His death occurred in 1760 at Herrnhut, Germany, the seat of the Moravian Church in Europe.

After Zinzendorf's return to Philadelphia from the Indian country he mapped out a plan of operations to be pursued by the Moravian Church in the mission among the Indians, and the draft in his writing is in the Bethlehem archives.

Five centres were selected: Bethlehem; Wyoming Valley; Otstonwakin (on the West Branch), near present Williamsport; Shecomeco (Duchess county, N. Y.), between the western border of Connecticut and the Hudson; and New England.

Wyoming never realized the hope of Zinzendorf, but his

initiatory labors, though unsatisfactory in point of results, opened the valley of the Susquehanna for the entrance of other Moravian evangelists during the next score of years. Furthermore, as often as these missionaries passed up the Susquehanna to the Iroquois capital, Onondaga (or to the later station at Wyalusing), between 1765 and 1772, until the dispersion of the Indians, Wyoming was sure to be visited. As long as its mixed Indians remained in the Valley these Moravian itinerants scattered the seed of the word, down to the arrival of the first pioneer settlers from Connecticut in 1762.

To their German ears the Wyoming of the English sounded like Wajomik or Wayomick, and so the Moravian missionaries usually wrote it. Its earliest Indian name, so far as now appears, was Skehandowana of the Iroquois, who also called it Gahonta. The Delaware Indians called it M'cheu-wami. All these names are said to have signified "large plains."

The first allusion to Wyoming on record is in the minutes of a conference held with Indians from the Susquehanna, at Philadelphia, in 1728. Wyoming was called "Meehayomy, above which the Minisinks lived." At a council held in 1732 the Indians asked to be helped with horses on their homeward journey to Onondaga as far as "Meehayomy."

While Heckewelder says Wyoming is derived from M'cheu-wami, Delaware for "large plains," Reichel thinks it may be the English approximation to the Indian Meehayomy. The word M'cheu-wami does not occur in the records of transactions between the governor of Pennsylvania and the Indians.

Conrad Weisser¹² uses the Iroquois name Skehandowana,

12. Conrad Weisser was a conspicuous figure in the Provincial history of Pennsylvania. He was born in Wurtemberg, Germany, in 1696, and came to America with a company of Palatinates at the age of fourteen, under the auspices of the English Queen Anne. They settled in the Mohawk country in the Colony of New York, and while

in a narrative of a journey to Onondaga in February, 1737. On his return from the Iroquois capital he wrote :

"We reached Skehandowana, where a number of Indians, Shawanos and Mahickanders (Mohicans) reside. Found there two traders from New York, and three men from the Maqua (Mohawk) country, who were hunting land; their names are Ludwig Rasselman, Martin Dillenbach & Piet deNiger. Here there is a large body of land, the like of which is not to be found on the river."

Thus early did the fertile flats of Wyoming Valley attract attention.

Writing to the governor in December, 1755, Conrad Weisser reports that the Indians with whom he had conferred at John Harris's Ferry (present Harrisburg) had told him that the French were influencing the Delawares living at Nescopeck, half way from Shamokin to Skehandowana.

In a speech made by deputies of the Six Nations at a meeting with Sir William Johnson, in July, 1755, the speaker said: "The land which reaches down from Owego to Skehandowana we beg may not be settled by Christians."

The Six Nations continued to guard Wyoming Valley with jealous care until its evacuation in 1756 by a mixture of Indians who were residing there by permission of the Iroquois. Up to 1756 the Six Nations were determined that "these lands should not be settled, but reserved for a

there, though only a lad, he spent eight months with an Indian chief and acquired the Mohawk language, a piece of knowledge that served him well in after life. In 1723 the Palatinates migrated from the Colony of New York passing down the Susquehanna into Pennsylvania, and later he followed them.

He, therefore, is one of the very first white men who ever gazed upon Wyoming Valley. The wanderers took up land at Tulpehocken, in present Berks county, and engaged in farming. Weisser's fluency in the Mohawk tongue recommended him to the notice of the Proprietary government, and at the request of the Six Nations he was appointed official interpreter for the confederation. From that time he was largely identified with Indian affairs of the Province. He was held in high esteem by the Indians and received at their hands the name of Tarachawagon.

He was a warm friend of the Moravians and their missionary efforts among the Indians. He met Spangenburg in 1736, and it was his representations as to the wretched condition of the Indians that led to the Moravian movement. He acted as guide and interpreter and contributed of his means.

place of retreat to such as in this time of war between the French and English might be obliged to leave their habitations; and that there was no part of their lands so convenient as Wyoming."

In December, 1754, their viceroy, Shikellimy,¹³ complained to Governor Morris "that some strangers from New York are coming like flocks of birds to disturb us in our possession."

Who were they? Nothing more is heard of them.

In February, 1756, an Indian scout reported to the government that there were three towns in the Valley—one inhabited by the Delawares, another by Shawanese, and a third by Chickasaws and Mohicans. At this time it was Teedyuscung's headquarters.

When the Indian war was ended one of Teedyuscung's conditions was that government should assist him and his people in making a settlement in Wyoming, instructing them

13. Shikellimy, an Oneida chief, was in 1728 acting representative of the Five Nations in business affairs with the Proprietary government. About 1745 he was appointed their vicegerent, and in this capacity administered their tributaries within the Province of Pennsylvania, with Shamokin for his seat. It was because of the large influence he in this way wielded that the English always sought his favor, and this they ever retained.

Few treaties (and these were of frequent occurrence between 1728 and 1748, respecting the purchase of lands) but Shikellimy was present, and by his moderate counsels aided in an amicable solution of the intricate questions with which these conferences were concerned. The acquaintance which Zinzendorf made with him was carefully followed up by the Brethren, and ripened into a friendship which ceased only with the death of the noble old chief, December 17, 1748. Zeisberger was with him when the end came.

Meginness says: Shikellimy was in some respects one of the most remarkable aborigines of whom we have any account. As he possessed an executive mind and was recognized by his people as a man of more than ordinary ability, his counsel was eagerly sought by the government of the Six Nations; and as this section of their confederation was hard to govern, on account of the various tribes inhabiting it, and the conflicting interests which had to be regulated, he was early designated as leading Sachem or vicegerent. On account of his high standing and excellent judgment his influence was courted by the provincial authorities. So great was his love for truth and justice that he never violated his word or condoned a crime.

Shikellimy was succeeded by his son John (Tachnechtoris) as vicegerent, but he did not inherit his father's ability and his rule was a failure. Another of Shikellimy's sons was Logan, who became celebrated in the annals of border warfare by the famous speech attributed to him.

how to build houses, etc. (Prov. Records, vii, 678.) Commissioners were appointed "to construct a fort there, and build as many houses as shall be necessary for the present residence, security and protection of the Indians from their enemies."

In the spring of 1758 Teedyuscung's town was finished. It stood within the present limits of Wilkes-Barre, at the bend of the river, near Hillman Academy. Scull's map of 1759 notes it as Wioming. This was the last Indian settlement in the historic valley of the Six Nations. Here Teedyuscung was burnt in his lodge on the night of April 19, 1763, and thence the Indians fled in October of the same year, after having struck the last blow for possession of the Great Plains when, on October 15, 1763, the occasion of the first massacre, they fell upon the whites, who, a year previously, had come from Connecticut, and planted upon their "perpetual reserve." (Reichel.)

THE FRONTIER WARS.

A dozen years after Zinzendorf visited Wyoming Valley the pious Moravians saw their work among the Indians imperiled by frontier hostilities in which some of their converts allied themselves with the French in the work of rapine, bloodshed and torture.

The time came when the question had to be settled as to whether the French or the English were to dominate the American continent. Both nations sought to secure the alliance of the Indian tribes. The French succeeded in winning the Shawanese and Delawares dwelling on the Susquehanna. The English, through the influence of Sir William Johnson, held the Mohawks, Oneidas and Tuscaroras, while most of the Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas remained neutral, though some went to the French.

The French war burst out in all its fury, and the frontier of Pennsylvania was desolated with torch and tomahawk.

Intoxicated with victory over Braddock in 1755, the French and their Indian allies made havoc in every settlement. The French at Fort Du Quesne (now Pittsburg) immediately dispatched war parties against the defenceless settlements. The French commander at that post reported that he had six or seven war parties in the field at once, always accompanied by Frenchmen. "Thus far," he writes, "we have lost only two officers and a few soldiers, but the Indian villages are full of prisoners of every age and sex. The enemy has lost far more since the battle than on the day of his defeat."

As the loss in the battle was about 800, this French officer means that perhaps 1,000 had been killed or captured in the blood-thirsty attacks on the frontier settlements along the Susquehanna and elsewhere.

The Moravians, however, did not retire from the field, but they covenanted anew to be faithful to the Lord, and to press forward into the Indian country as long as it was possible, in spite of wars.

Added to the panic which prevailed, the Pennsylvania government, either through ignorance or indifference, was unequal to the emergency, and no adequate measures were taken to repel the invasion by the Indians, who, in small skulking parties, murdered and burned, almost unresisted in the north and west of the province.

Such Indians as were loyal to the English urged the Pennsylvania government to prompt and effective resistance, and the frontier settlers supplicated for protection. The Assembly was moved to action, and made an appropriation for the public defense, the funds to be raised by taxation on all estates, including those of the Penn Proprietaries. But the weak and vacillating governor vetoed the measure, on the ground that such taxation would embarrass the Proprietaries, whose creature by appointment he was.

The governor, however, entered into correspondence with the Proprietaries in London, and after several months had

been thus wasted, so far as protecting the settlements was concerned, he obtained a subscription of £5,000 from Thomas Penn for the defense fund, the Proprietary estates to be exempt from taxation. The Assembly then appropriated £55,000, and a very tardy campaign of resistance was begun. In the meantime the frontiers had been ravaged.

The Indians who resided in the province of Pennsylvania at this time were composite in character. Some of them were savages, some were half-civilized, and some were "back-sliders" from the Moravian mission. Conspicuous among those who had once publicly renounced the ways of wickedness, and been baptized as Gideon, but who had now relapsed into savagery and taken up the hatchet against the English, was Teedyuscung, who had been chosen King of the Delawares at Wyoming. Zinzendorf's visit to the Forks in 1742 had introduced the Brethren's missionaries into the homes of the Delawares, and under the influence of their preaching Teedyuscung had professed conversion and had been baptized with the Mohicans and Delawares at Gnadenhütten. The Moravians distrusted him and put him on probation, but he persisted in his purpose, and in 1750 Bishop Cammerhoff baptized him at the village on the Mahoning—a village that five years later was to be destroyed with all its inhabitants by bloodthirsty savages.

The Delaware town at Nescopeck, on the Susquehanna, thirty miles below Wilkes-Barre, was made the rendezvous. Here Teedyuscung assembled his Delawares, Mohicans and Shawanese and marked out a plan of campaign. From this center the Indians, led by Teedyuscung himself, sallied forth on their marauds, striking consternation into the hearts of the settlers.

Mohican Abraham, the first convert of the Moravian mission, also turned renegade, and it was these two chieftains who had prevailed with seventy of the Gnadenhütten congregation to remove to Wyoming, in April of 1754, there to

live neutral or to array themselves under the French standard. Later, still others left Gnadenhütten and joined the hostiles on the Susquehanna at Nescopeck.

This double defection of Teedyuscung and Abraham caused great grief to the Moravians, for the evident purpose was to get the Gnadenhütten converts away from the restraining influences of their Moravian friends, who were seeking to keep them faithful. But even after the defection they were not abandoned by their shepherds, and Moravian teachers continued to visit them at Wyoming, even after the warriors had gone to the French.

Bishop Spangenburg sent Schmick and Fry to Wyoming, where they arrived November 10, 1755, with a message to Paxinosa, the Shawanese chief, who remained the friend of the English. Paxinosa was requested to send to Shamokin, then in great danger, and bring Kiefer, the missionary blacksmith there, to Wyoming, and then with Christian Frederick Post, who was stationed at Wyoming, all should return to Bethlehem.

During the winter of 1755 the Indians held a war council at Wyoming, and in December occurred the massacre at Gnadenhütten¹⁴ on the Mahoning. By the Gnadenhütten massacre the calumnies that the Moravians were in the French interest were forever disproved. The attacking party was made up of Monseys. Part of the converts fled to Bethlehem and part to Wyoming. In Northampton county fifty houses were burned, one hundred persons killed and many carried into captivity. All this bloodshed was due to the

14. Gnadenhütten (meaning cabins of grace) was in Carbon county, near where the Mahoning empties into the Lehigh. It was established by the Moravians in 1746 as a temporary home for their Mohican Indian converts who had been driven out of Connecticut. It had been the purpose to locate them permanently on the Susquehanna, but the project was postponed from time to time, and thus the settlement grew and became a flourishing mission. It had a grist-mill, saw-mill, blacksmith shop and farm buildings. Its population comprised 137 Mohicans and Delawares, besides nearly a hundred converts residing at Wyoming, Nescopeck and other villages along the Susquehanna. It came to a violent end in 1755, when it was destroyed by a war party of Shawanese.

quarrel between the governor and the assembly in reference to levying on the Proprietary estates for a defence fund. To make the situation worse, such Indians as were friendly to the British interest were unsupported by the government, and were easily persuaded by presents to give their support to the French. Even John Shikellimy and his brother Logan yielded to the French blandishments. But Andrew Montour and some others remained true.

Paxinosa,¹⁵ who remained faithful to the English, sent a message to the governor urging him to send presents and wampum to Wyoming for the purpose of holding the Indians to the English cause.

He endeavored, though in vain, to prevent the Delawares and his own Shawanese from joining the French, and in this he was so urgent that they threatened his life, and he and about thirty followers, including Abraham, retired to a village between Kingston and Plymouth (present Blindtown), where they remained until all the hostiles had departed.

About this time, Buckshanoath, the Shawanese chief at Wyoming, led an attack on the provincial troops, who had been sent under Benjamin Franklin to erect Fort Allen on the Lehigh. Andrew Montour passed through Wyoming in December, 1755, sent by the governor with a message to Sir William Johnson in the Iroquois country, and he reported that the Wyoming Indians were preparing for war and refused to receive the peace belt which he offered them.

"At the appointed time the paths between Wyoming and

15. Paxinosa was, in 1754, the chief man in Wyoming. He was a Shawanese, and affected loyalty to the English, but was suspected of intrigue in the French interest. He was always well inclined to the Moravians, and had been a friend to them in several outbreaks along the Susquehanna. His wife was a baptised convert. In 1758 he removed to the Ohio country, where he was the last Shawanese king west of the Alleghanies. His wife was the half-sister of Ben Nutimaes, and had lived with her husband thirty-eight years; to whom she had borne eight children, "a remarkable instance of the longevity of the marriage tie among Indians." Paxinosa said he was born on the Ohio. The Historian of Easton pronounces his one of the highest names in Indian history, and says that while women and children were falling under the murderous hatchet of Teedyuscung, the peaceful Delawares and Shawanese gathered around King Paxinosa in the primeval forests of the Wyoming Valley.

the Delaware, over which the missionaries had so often carried the white flag of peace and good-will, were crowded with hostile savages." Teedyuscung at the head of a scouting party penetrated into New Jersey, and even approached within a few miles of Easton, Pa. During the winter Teedyuscung captured a half dozen settlers in the Delaware region and passed through Wyoming with them on the way north. The captives were kept all winter at Tunkhannock, where were one hundred other prisoners. They were afterwards taken to Tioga and held until November, 1756, when a treaty was held at Easton and the captives were liberated. In order to check the atrocities the governor offered bounties for Indian scalps—men, women and children—against which the Moravians protested vigorously, but in vain.

About this time (1755) Zeisberger and Seidel visited Wyoming. Christian Frederick Post had established himself there to minister to the converts and entertain visiting missionaries. A famine was prevailing, and the first care of Zeisberger and Seidel was to relieve Post's wants and those of the Indians by going back to Shamokin for supplies. Then they began to preach the gospel to a tribe of Monseys on the Lackawanna.

The Indians in the French interest penetrated to within a few miles of the Susquehanna and perpetrated the bloody massacre at Penn's Creek, which was within six miles of Shamokin.

The last to leave Shamokin was the brave blacksmith, Kiefer, who stuck to his post until peremptorily recalled by Bishop Spangenburg. He was escorted up the river to Nescopeck by old Shikellimy's son John, the new viceroy, and passing through Wyoming he reached Bethlehem in safety.

With the burning of the buildings by the Indians the Moravian mission at Shamokin came to an end. The reign of

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where were one hundred other prisoners. They were
wards taken to Tioga and held until November, 1756
a treaty was held at Easton and the captives were liber
In order to check the atrocities the governor offered
ties for Indian scalps—men, women and children—ag
which the Moravians protested vigorously, but in vain.
About this time (1755) Zeisberger and Seidel vi
Wyoming. Christian Frederick Post had established
self there to minister to the converts and entertain vis
missionaries. A famine was prevailing, and the first ca
Zeisberger and Seidel was to relieve Post's wants and t
of the Indians by going back to Shamokin for sup
Then they began to preach the gospel to a tribe of Mon
on the Lackawanna.
The Indians in the French interest penetrated to with
few miles of the Susquehanna and perpetrated the bl
massacre at Penn's Creek, which was within six mile
Shamokin.
The last to leave Shamokin was the brave blacken
Kiefer, who stuck to his post until peremptorily rec
by Bishop Spangenberg. He was escorted up the riv
Nescopeck by old Shikellimy's son John, the new vic
and passing through Wyoming he reached Bethlehem
safety.
With the burning of the buildings by the Indians the
tavian mission at Shamokin came to an end. The reig

terror was complete, and it was a dozen years before any settlers dared venture upon the bloody ground.

In March, 1756, the government, finding itself unable to protect the frontiers against these Indian raids, determined to conciliate Teedyuscung, and after a conference at Easton in July a treaty was signed by which the warrior made peace with the whites. In bringing about this conference messages were taken from the governor to the Delawares at Wyoming and other Indians on the Susquehanna by the famous Indian scout, Newcastle, the Moravian Indian, George Rex, and two other Indians, as shown by the "Account of the Brethren with the Commissioners" in Reichel's Memorials.

"On these occasions Teedyuscung stood up as the champion of his people, fearlessly demanding restitution for their lands, and in addition the free exercise of the right to select, within the territory in dispute, a permanent home.

"Teedyuscung's imposing presence, his earnestness of appeal, and his impassioned oratory, as he plead the cause of his long-injured people. evoked the admiration of his enemies themselves. It would appear from the published minutes of the conferences that the English artfully attempted to conciliate him by fair speeches and uncertain promises, but the Indian king was astute and sagacious, and they yielded to the terms he laid down. These were: compensation for all lands unjustly taken, Wyoming to be their permanent home and a town to be built there for them at the expense of the government, all the Indians to remove from Tioga, and they to be supplied with missionaries and teachers."

The Nanticokes went to Lancaster to remove the bones of their dead to the North, while the Senecas, Delawares, Shawanese and Mohicans returned with their presents to Tioga. "Teedyuscung with his sons and warriors remained at Easton and Bethlehem to watch and oppose the movements of the French and hostile Indians from the Ohio who

were prowling on the frontiers. He also gave audience to wild embassies from the Indian country. Occasionally he would visit Philadelphia to confer with the governor. Thus the dark winter passed," says Reichel, "and when the swelling of maple buds and the whitening of the shadbush on the river's bank foretokened the event of spring, there were busy preparations for their long-expected removal to the Indian El Dorado on the flats of the winding Susquehanna. It was in the corn-planting month, 1758, when the Delaware king, his queen, and his warriors, led by the provincial commissioners and under escort of fifty soldiers, took up the line of march for Fort Allen, on the Lehigh, beyond there to strike the Indian trail that led over the mountains by way of Nescopeck to Wyoming Valley."

Thus, with Teedyuscung conciliated, the First Indian War, sometimes called the French War, was over, and the frontiers of Pennsylvania were exempt from serious hostilities for several years. The Moravians re-established their stations at Wyoming and other points, and there was every prospect of a lasting peace. But the hope was a vain one.

The Pennsylvania government, in compliance with the promise to Teedyuscung, built a village for him where is now Wilkes-Barre. These were the first houses ever built by white people in the Wyoming Valley. There he lived five years with such of the Indians as had not remove elsewhere, until the spring of 1763, when he was burned to death in his cabin. It is said he was in a drunken stupor, for his weakness was strong drink, and his cowardly assassination is attributed to the Iroquois, who hated him because he had opposed their lust of power. The killing of Teedyuscung was part of a new uprising—the Second Indian war. With the tragic death of the king of the Delawares, the Indian occupancy of the Wyoming Valley ceases, and with the abandonment of the region by his followers a few months later, there comes to an end the faithful missionary work of

the Moravians. The emigration from Connecticut to Wyoming had now set in.

The charge was circulated that it was the Connecticut people who had murdered Teedyuscung. Whether the Indians believed this groundless story or not is unknown, but they may have done so, for they swept down on the young settlement in the autumn of 1763 and exterminated it. But it was, perhaps, only an every day border raid. This was the first massacre of Wyoming.¹⁶ Dr. William H. Egle, author of the *History of Pennsylvania*, says "the infamous transaction was carried out by those infernal red savages from New York, the Cayugas and Oneidas;" but Oscar J. Harvey has discovered in the Thomas Addis Emmett collection an autograph letter of Sir William Johnson stating that the attack on Wyoming was by Delawares, and was led by Captain Bull (a son of Teedyuscung), who was at that time ravaging the frontier in the French interest. The Johnson letter mentions that Captain Bull was subsequently captured by the English.

At this point we dismiss the Indian occupancy of Wyoming, so far as its general history is concerned, and enter upon a consideration of some of the missionary journeys which the Moravians from Bethlehem made to the Wyoming Indians.

The Moravian missionaries (says Reichel) prudently refrained from any effort to wean the Indians from their usages unless these were sinful. Thus while the converts were Indians, they continued to be Indians, following the pursuits and retaining many of the manners and customs in which their fathers before them had engaged. Accordingly the men preferred the hunt to the farm, and the women were choppers of wood and laborers in the field. The men

16. In the slaughter of 1763 perished Rev. William Marsh, a Baptist preacher, who was the first clergyman sent out with the Connecticut settlers.

often engaged in fishing, and the Wyalusing diary records that two thousand shad were caught in nets in a single night. The missionaries themselves adopted the Indian dress and manners so far as they could, and in numerous instances they learned the Indian language.

From the time of Zinzendorf's visit in 1742, two years elapsed before any recorded effort was made to establish a Moravian station at Wyoming. In April, 1744, John Martin Mack and Christian Froelich¹⁷ set out from Bethlehem. Mack had been one of Zinzendorf's party. Their route was by way of the Lehigh Water Gap, above which they crossed the river, and near Lehighton struck the great Indian trail¹⁸ leading northwest over Quakake, Buck and Nescopeck Mountains to the Indian town of Wapwallopen. The Moravian missionaries invariably write the latter word *Wambhallobank*, or *Hallobank*. Heckewelder translates it as "where the white hemp grows." They were a week making

17. Christian Froelich was from Felsburg in Hesse, and came to America in 1741. He was a confectioner by trade, and in that capacity he served for a time in the Zinzendorf family.

18. The Indian paths usually followed the streams. The one along the north branch of the Susquehanna River was a great highway or warpath, and was the one usually followed by the Six Nations in their marauds against the southern tribes. From Wyoming there led numerous paths:

Warrior's path, leaving the Valley by Solomon's Creek, crossing the mountain in the vicinity of Glen Summit, and striking the Lehigh at White Haven.

A path from Wyoming to the Delaware.

A path up Shickshinny Creek, then directly west to Muncy, fifty miles from Wilkes-Barre. This path was intersected by one coming from Wyalusing through Bradford and Sullivan counties.

A path from Wyoming passed up the east side of the Lackawanna to present Scranton, where stood a Monsey village. Here the path divided, one branch going north to Oquago, Windsor county, N. Y., the other going east to the Delaware at Cochection. This was the route which the first settlers from Connecticut took in coming to Wyoming.

There was a path to Wyoming which started from Muncy, ran up Glade Run, then crossed Fishing Creek at Millville, thence to Nescopeck Gap and up the river to Wyoming.

One of the paths from Wyoming to Bethlehem was from the Susquehanna up Nescopeck Creek, passing Sugarloaf in Conyngham Valley, crossing the Buck Mountain west of Hazleton, near Audenreid, then across the Quakake Valley and over Mauch Chunk Mountain to Lehigh Gap.

their journey from Bethlehem to Wyoming, owing to almost constant snow storms. They spent four days at Wyoming, their entire absence from Bethlehem covering two weeks.

The journal here given has never before been published. It is copied from an English manuscript at Bethlehem, doubtless a translation of the original diary in German. As printed in these pages the diary is somewhat condensed, but enough is given to show how much of pious reflection was injected into these daily records of missionary life. The "watchword" to which they refer is the text for the day as arranged for each year by the Moravian authorities and published to the present time. Sometimes the watchword happened to fit the events of the day in a most striking manner. This is shown in the diary for April 6 and April 19.

DIARY OF BR. JOHN MARTIN MACK'S AND CHRISTIAN FROELICH'S
JOURNEY TO WAYOMICK AND HALLOBANCK.

1744. April 6.—We set out from our dearly beloved Mother from Bethlehem. The elders prayed over us and gave us their blessing for our journey. Our hearts were melted into tears under the grace we felt at our parting. The watchword was: "And I will make with them a covenant of peace, and will cause the evil beasts to cease out of the land; and they shall dwell safely in the wilderness and sleep in the woods." Ezek. 34: 25. We set forward happy and rejoiced over the grace that is felt in his church. In the evening we came to the stream Buckabuka.¹⁹ The creek was very cold, but we got safely through, and found an old Indian cabin in which we lodged. We made a fire. Brother Christian was cook. We had a good night's lodging and thanked our Lord for it.

7th.—In the morning early it began to rain. We went

19. It is given on Scull's map of 1770 as Pocopoco, near site of Gnadenhutten. It empties into the Lehigh (east bank) near present Parryville and Weissport, Carbon county. Fort Allen stood near here, opposite mouth of the Mahoning.

our way nevertheless, but fearing the Lehigh might be too high for us to cross. There came an Indian to us who knew me. He was going the same way we were. He went on ahead of us and told us the way we should take. We came to a very deep creek, but we got safe through. After going a little farther we came to the Lehigh. We tried to wade it. It was so extremely cold that at first we thought it impossible for us to endure it. When we got about the middle, it was so deep and the stream so strong that I thought every minute it would bear me down, and my feet stuck between two great rocks. I could cheerfully tell our Savior that I was his, here in the water, and for Him and His kingdom's sake I went through this. I immediately got strength and courage, went on again, took Brother Christian by the coat and helped him through. We thanked the Lamb that he had so happily preserved us, as we were wet and cold and it rained very hard. We kept going, thinking thereby to warm ourselves. When we had gone about 12 miles we made a little fire, but could not make it burn because it snowed so hard. The cold pierced us a little because we were through and through wet. We cut wood all night long to prevent our being frozen to death. It snowed all night.

8th.—The snow lay on the ground a foot and a half deep, and before us we had great rocks and mountains to climb. One could see but little of the way, and in many places none at all. We warmed ourselves a little walking, but were very tired, the snow being so deep. After dinner we came to an old hut where some Indians were, who were going to Wyoming. We lodged with them. It was very cold this night. We spent our time in making fire and trying to keep warm.

9th.—We and the Indians set out together. It was very cold the whole day. We were obliged to wade two creeks. They were extremely cold. Brother Christian carried me

through one because it was deep and I was not very well. I felt the cold in my limbs much. We were very happy all this day, and we prayed the Lamb that he should make his wounds, which he had received for this poor nation, manifest in this place where he had now sent us to. In the evening we concluded we were about 6 miles from Hallobanck (Wapwallopen). We lay in the woods again. It was very cold. We spent most of the night in making fire.

10th.—Early in the morning we set forward and came to Hallobanck. We went into the king's house, but he was not very friendly. Nevertheless he would not bid us be gone. We were tired, and were sleepy and hungry. Our hearts lay before the Lamb and prayed for this poor people, that we might obtain the end for which He had sent us hither. We were soon visited by ten Indians, who were all painted but were very friendly towards us, and some of them gave us their hands. Brother Christian baked some little cakes made of Indian meal in the ashes, which we relished well. The Indians with whom we traveled and left behind this morning, came about two hours after us and brought three caggs [kegs] of rum. They soon began to prepare for dancing and drinking. There came also an old Indian with a cagg [keg] in the cabin where we were. The Indian with whom we had been a little acquainted on the way came to us and said there would be nothing but drinking and revelry all night in the cabin and we should be disturbed by it. If we wished we might lodge in his hut, about half a mile from thence. We accepted with many thanks. His wife is a clever woman and has a love for us also.

11th.—We were visited in the cabin by the drunken Indians, who looked very dangerous, and endeavored by many ways to trouble us. Our Indian host, though drunk himself, would not permit them to injure us. There was a great noise and disturbance among us all night long, and

they would take no rest until they had drunk all the rum which had been brought over the mountain.

12th.—Towards morning they all laid themselves down to sleep away their drunkenness, but we prepared for setting forward to Wayomick. Our hostess had baked a few cakes for us to take on our way. We had a most blessed journey. The Lamb was near to us. We could speak openheartedly together, and loved one another tenderly, rejoiced together in hope of the Indians' happiness in these parts; came in good time opposite to Wayomick, but could not cross the Susquehanna that night, because there was no canoe there. We had a sweet night's lodging under a great tree.

13th.—Early we crossed over to Wayomick.²⁰ We were received in a very friendly manner. We immediately found the Chikasaw Indian, Chickasi, with whom we had been acquainted two years ago when Brother Lewis [Zinzendorf] was there. He was very friendly toward us and gave us something to eat. He asked where Brother Lewis and his daughter were. I told him they were gone to Europe. He asked if they arrived safe there. I said yes. He was much rejoiced at that. He said he had thought much on him and his daughter. We lodged with his cousin, who received us in much love and friendship and gave us of the best he had. We found very few Indians there, and those who remained there looked much dejected. They were in number only seven men. There has been a surprising change in Wayomick since two years ago, at which time there were 30 or 40 cabins all full of Indians, whose great noise one could hear two or three miles off. Now one hardly hears anything stir there; about six or seven cabins are left, the others are all pulled to pieces. How often did I call to mind how Brother Lewis said at that time: "The Shawanese Indians will all remove in a short time, and our Savior

20. The trip which occupied them a week is now made by rail in three hours.

will bring another people here who shall be acquainted with His wounds, and they shall build a City of Grace there to the honor of the Lamb." How my heart rejoiceth now at the thoughts of it because I see that everything is preparing for it. We visited carefully all the places where our tent had been pitched two years ago, and where so many tears had been shed. The Lamb has numbered them all and put them in His bottle. We stayed there four days. The Indians loved us. Our walk and behavior preached amongst them and showed that we loved them. They could heartily believe and realize that we had not come amongst them for our own advantage, but out of love to them. We visited them often. I asked the Indian with whom we were acquainted, if they would like a brother whom they loved much to come and live amongst them some time or other, and tell them sometimes of our great God who loved mankind so much? They answered yes, they should be very glad, but they themselves could not decide it, because the land belonged to the Five Nations, and they only lived thereon by permission. The Indians who are still here are, as it were, prisoners. They dare not go far away.

The watchword when we came to Wayomick was very suitable: "I will have mercy upon the house of Judah, and will save them by the Lord their God, and will not save them by bow, nor by battle, by horses nor by horsemen."

16th.—We prepared for returning. The woman made us again some little cakes to take with us on the way. Our host prayed that if ever we should come this way again we should certainly lodge with him, saying he was an excellent huntsman and shot many deer and bears, and he would give us meat enough to eat. We took leave, and one of them set us over the river. After dinner we came again to Hallobanck and went to our old hosts again. Our hostess set victuals immediately before us, and we were hungry.

17th.—We visited all the Indians. They were very cool and shy toward us, because they have been told by the white people that we seek by cunning to draw the Indians on our side, which, when effected, we intend to make them slaves.

18th.—We visited them again. We visited the king also, thinking we might have opportunity to speak something with him concerning the end of our coming to him; but we found he had no ears and therefore desisted.

19th.—We got up early. Our hostess was very civil and showed us much love. We took leave of them and set forwards. The woods were on fire all around us, so that in many places it looked very terrible, and many times we scarce knew how to get through. The burning trees fell down all about. We could not easily get out of the way, because there are such high mountains on each side. After dinner we came between two great mountains, and the fire burnt all around us, and made a prodigious crackling. Before us there was sent such a great flame that we were a little afraid to go through it, and we could find no other way to escape it. Brother Christian went first through. The flame went quite over his head; it looked a little dismal. He got through but I did not know it, because I could not see him for the smoke. I called to him; he answered me immediately. I thought I would wait a little longer till it was burnt away a little more, but the fire grew still fiercer. He called again and prayed me to come through, saying our dear Savior had promised "When thou walkest through the fire thou shalt not be burnt, neither shall the flame kindle upon thee." I ventured and went cheerfully into the flame, and got safe through. We thanked the Lamb for it, that he had preserved us so in the fire. We went over two great mountains. We laid ourselves to rest, and had a happy night together, and thanked our Lamb with an humble heart that he had this day also led

and preserved us through water and fire, over rocks and mountains. We were very tired, but could nevertheless rest well. When we came to Bethlehem we found that the watchword for that day had been: "When thou passest through the waters I will be with thee; and through the rivers they shall not overflow thee; when thou walkest through the fire thou shalt not be burned, neither shall the flame kindle upon thee. Fire, hail, snow, vapor and stormy wind are servants of His will."

20th.—We set out early and soon came to the Lehigh, which we went through. The water did not seem as cold as it did the first time. We crossed two other creeks. We had still a great way to Bethlehem, and were very tired. In the evening we reached Bethlehem where the brethren and sisters were met together. Brother Spangenburg spoke on the watchword.

Your poor brethren, MARTIN & CHRISTIAN.

In 1745 the Moravians had established a Mohican mission at Shecomeko, in Dutchess county, N. Y., on the edge of Connecticut, but it had been suppressed by the New York authorities (on account of unfounded suspicions that the Moravians were not loyal to the English but were secretly intriguing with the French), and a project was set on foot by the Moravian Church to transfer the harrassed Shecomeko converts to the Valley of Wyoming.

The harsh action of the authorities, afterwards recognized as wrong by those very authorities, necessitated negotiations with the Iroquois Confederacy, to whose dependencies Wyoming belonged.

A visit was accordingly made to Onondaga by Bishop Spangenburg, Zeisberger²¹ and a converted Indian, Schebosh,

21. David Zeisberger was a missionary for 62 years among the Indians. Prompted by a spirit of adventure he left Herrnhut, Germany, when a youth of 17. He was born in 1721, and came to America in 1738 to escape religious persecution. He became a missionary at the age of 25, and never relinquished the task until his death in Ohio in

and Conrad Weisser, who had been commissioned by Pennsylvania to treat with the Six Nations. Having assembled at the Forks at Shamokin (Sunbury) they spent a week preaching to the Indians and to Madame Montour.

After being joined by Andrew Montour, and Shikellimy and one of his sons, they passed up the West Branch and thence to Onondaga. While on the march Spangenburg, Zeisberger and Schebosh were formally adopted into the Iroquois Confederacy and given Indian names.

They arrived at Onondaga June 17, and on the 20th the Council was held. Bishop Spangenburg proposed to renew the friendship established with the Six Nations by Count Zinzendorf and asked permission to begin a settlement for Christian Indians at Wyoming, which was granted.

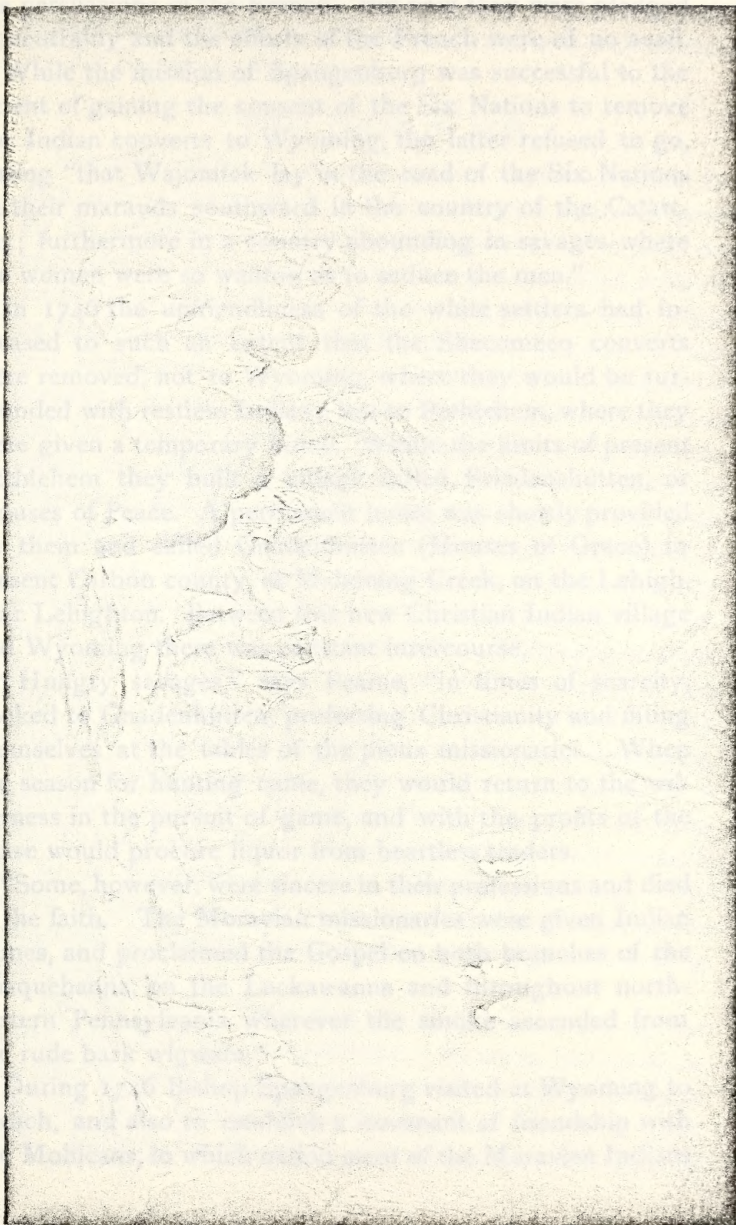
The presence of Conrad Weisser, who accompanied Spangenburg, was most opportune. If he had arrived a week later, the sachems would have been in Canada listening to

1808, at the age of 87. His record for long and faithful service, and for cheerful submission to deprivation, probably has no equals in missionary annals. He was able to speak ten Indian languages.

A striking painting in the archives of the Moravian Historical Society at Bethlehem, Pa., is entitled "The Power of the Gospel," and represents David Zeisberger preaching to the Indians. It has been made familiar to many by an admirable steel engraving by John Sartain. In order to facilitate the engraver in his work, the painter, Charles Schussele, furnished Mr. Sartain with the black and white study which had been the basis of the painting. Mr. Sartain kindly loaned the compiler of this pamphlet the black and white, and from it the illustration has been reproduced by half-tone process.

"The subject is one that might well inspire a Christian painter." It is David Zeisberger, one of the most devoted missionaries that ever lived, preaching to a group of Indians. The erect figure of the zealous Apostle of the Indians is seen in the attitude of proclaiming the Word of life to the untamed children of the forest in their native wilds, who listen attentively in picturesque groups around the fire which throws its light on the whole scene. The picture is a most suggestive object lesson on missionary work, to which Zeisberger devoted more than sixty years of his life. Nothing short of color can present any adequate impression of the original painting. The ruddy glow of the central fire—the strong light thrown upon the figures grouped immediately around it, and especially upon the great missionary himself, who stands with uplifted hands in the attitude of earnest pleading—the conflicting feelings visible on the faces of the chiefs and warriors, and the eager receptivity of some of the Indian women—the deep shadows that fall upon the outer circle of his listeners—and the dense darkness of the forest in which their nocturnal assemblage is gathered—all these are brought out by the painting as only genius handling color can portray them. By night and by day that scene must have taken place hundreds of times during Zeisberger's apostolic ministry to roving tribes of over sixty years."

ZEISBERGER PREACHING TO THE INDIANS.



the persuasions of the French. But now they were pledged to neutrality and the efforts of the French were of no avail.

While the mission of Spangenburg was successful to the extent of gaining the consent of the Six Nations to remove the Indian converts to Wyoming, the latter refused to go, stating "that Wajomick lay in the road of the Six Nations on their marauds southward in the country of the Catawbas; furthermore in a country abounding in savages where the women were so wanton as to seduce the men."

In 1746 the unfriendliness of the white settlers had increased to such an extent that the Sheshecon converts were removed, not to Wyoming, where they would be surrounded with restless Indians, but to Bethlehem, where they were given a temporary home. Within the limits of present Bethlehem they built a village called Friedenshütten, or Houses of Peace. A permanent home was shortly provided for them and called Gnadenhütten (Houses of Grace), in present Carbon county, at Mahoning Creek, on the Lehigh, near Lehigh. Between this new Christian Indian village and Wyoming there was constant intercourse.

"Hungry savages," says Pearce, "in times of scarcity, flocked to Gnadenhütten, professing Christianity and filling themselves at the tables of the pious missionaries. When the season for hunting came, they would return to the wilderness in the pursuit of game, and with the profits of the chase would procure liquor from heartless traders.

"Some, however, were sincere in their professions and died in the faith. The Moravian missionaries were given Indian names, and proclaimed the Gospel on both branches of the Susquehanna, on the Lackawanna and throughout northeastern Pennsylvania wherever the smoke ascended from the rude bark wigwam."

During 1746 Bishop Spangenburg visited at Wyoming to preach, and also to establish a covenant of friendship with the Mohicans, to which nation most of the Moravian Indians

belonged. He was accompanied by two Mohican converts from Friedenshütten, near Bethlehem, and was well received by the Indians of Wyoming.

GREAT FAMINE OF 1748.

Shamokin being an important town on the principal Indian trail to the south, it was considered a desirable point for the establishment of a Moravian mission. The plan was suggested by Conrad Weisser, it being to establish a blacksmith shop, at which fire-arms (recently introduced) might be repaired without requiring the Indians to go to the distant settlements. The step was a most politic one, and it became a strong bond of union between the missionaries and the friendly Indians. The latter had previously petitioned the colonial government to establish a smithy in Shamokin, and the Moravian suggestion was cordially acquiesced in, and the smithy was accordingly established in April, 1747, the Indians promising to remain friendly. Zeisberger was appointed to the work at Shamokin as assistant to Martin Mack. The two visited Wyoming in 1748. In July of that year they explored both branches of the Susquehanna. Zeisberger having now mastered the Mohawk language, had begun to prepare an Iroquois dictionary, with Shikellimy assisting. The Indians were found in a deplorable condition. The West Branch was desolate from smallpox in every village. They followed the North Branch as far as Wyoming and found a famine prevailing. The diary of this journey is to be found in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, January, 1893, page 430. Following are quotations:

"July 22, 1748. Early this morning we set out up the north branch of the Susquehanna. At noon lost path, as we took the one that leads to the woods, which the Indians take on their hunts. Towards evening recovered right trail. Lodged for the night near the river. It began to

rain hard, and the water swept down the hillside so strongly that we feared we would be washed into the Susquehanna. Had no hut and could get no bark.

"July 23. Proceeded through the rain and towards noon came to a Tudeler town, where we hoped to dry ourselves, but found all drunk. Continued on our way a few miles, when we built a fire and dried and warmed ourselves. By evening reached Nescopeck, and were taken over the river in a canoe. Found few at home, but were taken into a hut, where we dried ourselves, and supperless retired to rest.

"July 24. Our host cooked us some wild beans. We gave the old man in turn of our bread. He informed us that his people had gone among the whites to obtain food.

"July 25. Resumed our journey and came to Wapwallopen. Found only one family at home, which boiled the bark of trees for food. All the others had been driven by famine to the white settlements. At night we camped at the lower end of the flats of Wyomick.

"July 26. Arose early and proceeded up the flats. People decrepid and scarcely able to walk, and in danger of starvation. Lodged in one of the huts.

"July 27. Crossed the river and visited the Nanticokes, who moved here last spring from Chesapeake Bay, and found them clever, modest people. They, too, complained of the famine, and told us that their young people had been gone several weeks to the settlements to procure food. In the evening the Nanticokes set us over the river. Visited some old people; also an old man who fetched some wood to make a fire in his hut. He was so weak as to be compelled to crawl on hands and knees. Mack made the fire, much to the gratitude of the aged invalid.

"July 28. Found our host this morning busy painting himself. He painted his face all red and striped his shirt and moccasins with the same color. Set out on our return journey; passed Wapwallopen, and thence over the coun-

try, across Wolf mountain, to Gnadenhütten, which we reached July 30."

In October, 1748, Baron John de Watteville, a bishop of the Moravian Church, son-in-law and principal assistant of Count Zinzendorf, arrived from Europe on an official visit, and one of the first things he undertook was a visit to the Indian country. He was accompanied by Cammerhoff, Mack and Zeisberger, the latter as interpreter. Having visited Gnadenhütten, they proceeded along the great trail to Wyoming, which they reached four days later.

A year previous to this journey de Watteville married Benigna de Zinzendorf, daughter of the Count, now a young woman of 21, who had braved the perils of the wilderness with her father four years earlier when he made his missionary journey to Wyoming and other points. Benigna died at Herrnhut in 1789.

Reichel says of de Watteville's journey to Wyoming:

"Exploring the lovely valley which opened to their view, they found the plain of Skehantowano, where Zinzendorf's tent had first been pitched; the hill where God had delivered him from the fangs of the adder, and the spot where the Shawanese had watched him with murderous design. The very tree was still standing on which he had graven the initials of his Indian name.

"Among the inhabitants, however, many changes had taken place. The majority of the Shawanese had gone to the Ohio, and but few natives of any other tribe remained, with the exception of Nanticokes.

"Watteville faithfully proclaimed the Gospel, and on the 7th of October was celebrated the Lord's Supper, the first time the holy sacrament was administered in the Wyoming Valley. The hymns of the little company swelled solemnly through the night, while the Indians stood listening in silent awe at the doors of their wigwams. And when

they heard the voice of the stranger lifted up in earnest intercession, as had been Zinzendorf's voice in that same region six years before, they felt that the white man was praying that they might learn to know his God."

From Wyoming the travelers passed down the Susquehanna on horseback to Shamokin, stopping on the way at Wapwallopen, Nescopeck and Skogari. The latter was in present Columbia county, and is described by de Schweinitz as being the only town on the whole continent inhabited by Tutelees or Tudelars, a degenerate remnant of thieves and drunkards.

A curious fact related in de Watteville's journal²² is, that at an Indian town near Wilkes-Barre he found the governor a possessor of negro slaves. He also relates that on the fertile flat lands of Wyoming Valley the grass grew so tall that it was difficult to see over it, even when riding on his horse.

"October 6, 1748. From the top of a high mountain we had our first view of the beautiful and extensive flats of Wyoming, and the Susquehanna winding through them. It was the most charming prospect my eyes had ever seen. Beyond them stretched a line of blue mountains high up, back of which passes the road to Onondaga through the savage wilderness towards Tioga. We viewed the scene for several minutes in silent admiration, then descended the precipitous mountain side, past a spring, until we got into the valley.

"Up this we pursued our way and came to the first Indian huts of Wyoming, where formerly lived one Nicholas, a

22. The journal of de Watteville is furnished by John W. Jordan, and was never before printed. Mr. Jordan has written much on the subject of Moravian missions in Pennsylvania. Among his writings is a manuscript volume of sixty-seven pages, relating entirely to the Wyoming Valley. In it are extracts of diaries describing missionary journeys from 1745 to 1768, with numerous annotations. It is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and has been much drawn upon for the present pamphlet. Mr. Jordan has also edited various diaries for The Moravian and for the Pennsylvania Magazine.

famous Indian conjurer and medicine man. Since his death the huts stand empty. Moving on we crossed a creek and soon came to the Susquehannah, up which we went a mile, to a point where we forded the stream to an island and crossed to the west bank. The river was low and all got through without difficulty. Came to some cabins inhabited by Tuscaroras, whose squaws only were at home, and thence into the great flats, striking the path which Zinzendorf had followed.

"Cammerhoff and myself kept in our saddles, the better to get a view of the flats. But the grass was so high at times as to overtop us, though mounted, and I never beheld such a beautiful expanse of land. We next came to the place where the old Shawanese king dwelt, which at that time, 1742, was a large town. Now there is only one cabin in which Shawanese reside.

"Farther on we came to ten huts, where the present captain, who is a Chickasaw Indian, lives. He was not at home, but was recently gone to war against the Catawbias, with six other warriors. His wife, who is a Shawanese, remembered the Count, and would have us take lodgings with her. Because of our horses we were compelled to decline her kind offer. We pitched our tents on the spot where Chickasi (in whom the Count had been so interested in 1742) lived. He, too, remembered the Count, and was very friendly.

"Chickasi is at present living with the Nanticokes across the river. Our hostess sent for him, as he spoke English. He came without delay, and I gave him a greeting from Johanon [the name given by the Indians to Zinzendorf].

"Meanwhile all Wyoming on our side of the river had congregated, some 16 persons, large and small, Chickasaws and Shawanese. They manifested great interest in our advent, and sincere friendship for us.

"October 7.—Rode to the spot which the Count had se-

lected for the site of a Moravian Indian town [it was to have been called Gnadenstadt], and then crossed the creek [into which the Count fell, see p. 135], and on which creek the proposed mill for the Moravian town was to be built. Next we came to the spot where the tent was pitched the first time. [Place of blowing adders.]

"Here in the bark of a tree we found the initial J [for Johanan, or Zinzendorf], and C [for Conrad Weisser]. I cut an A for Anna Nitschmann and also 1742 and 1748.

"Fording the river, we found a Mohican cabin at the end of an island, but no one excepting children were at home.

"Rode over the flats until we came to some Tuscarora huts. Re-crossing to our camp, we found Zeisberger had been called on by many Indians. They said some months ago a trader had wished to settle in Wyoming and had planted corn, but the Indians, finding him thievish, had expelled him, the Nanticokes having bought his improvements. Not far from the Count's third camping place we were pointed out the burial place of an ancient and wholly exterminated nation of Indians, and on the south side of the Susquehanna stood a respectable orchard of apple trees, near which some 70 to 80 Indians, who were swept off a few years ago by epidemic dysentery, lay buried.

"Captain's wife gave us four loaves of bread and two large watermelons. We gave them in return a pair of silver buckles. In the afternoon visited the Chickasaw town and saw a newly-carved god elevated on a pole. Visited from hut to hut and found an aged Shawanese couple who were almost centenarians six years ago. We next visited the Nanticokes who live on the island. Unable to get a canoe, we got our horses and forded the stream without saddle or bridle. Left our horses in care of a sick Chickasaw, who understood some English, and then visited the Count's Chickasaw, whose forehead is flattened back like a Catawba's. He

was gathering his little crop of tobacco, and had little interest in religious matters. Gave him a knife as a token.

"Came to the Nanticoke town of ten huts. Most of the men were on the hunt. One of the old men was very friendly. Gave him a pipe tube. Some of the Nanticokes asked if we were traders and wanted to barter. The Nanticokes appear to be more industrious than other Indians. They moved from Chesapeake Bay not long ago, by order of the Five Nations. They passed Shamokin last June and are settled here right comfortably. They expect others of their people. The Five Nations call them Skaniataratigroni, i. e., the people who dwell on the bay or lake. Recrossed river to our tent. This evening we were alone in our tent and closed the day with the celebration of the Lord's Supper.

"October 9.—Made preparations for return by path that keeps along the upper side of the Susquehanna down to Wamphallobank and thence to Shamokin.

"October 8.—Passed through the Chickasaw town and bade adieu to all our friends. Presented some of the women with needles and thread. They gave us pumpkins baked in the ashes. Moved down the beautiful flats.

"October 10.—Came to falls of Nescopeck. Shouted for a canoe. Nutimaes,²³ the governor, painted and decked with feathers, came to set us over. Gave him a silver buckle. The Governor's house was the most spacious I had ever seen among the Indians. The Governor, his five

23. Joseph Nutimus or Notamaes (Wenekaheman) was a Delaware Indian, known as "Old King Nutimus." He lived at the mouth of the Nescopeck Creek, north branch of Susquehanna, some thirty miles below Wilkes-Barre, from the time of Zinzendorf's visit in 1742 to 1763.

At one time he and his people sympathized with the French, and Nescopeck was the rendezvous of those who were plotting against the English. Nutimus is charged with a large share of the responsibility for the slaughter of the Moravians at Gnadenhutten in 1755. It is said that he left for the Ohio about 1763. He had a son Isaac, who died at Tioga. (See Historical Record, Wilkes-Barre, vol. 2, p. 1.) John W. Jordan says that the old king of Nescopeck cannot fairly be accused of the massacre at Gnadenhutten. He was always a warm friend of the Moravians and frequently visited Bethlehem, where he was hospitably entertained, and whenever the Moravians visited Nescopeck he gladly reciprocated.

sons, with their wives and daughters, live together ; and his other sons at their plantation, $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles farther down. On taking leave we kept down the river, and were soon met by one of their cousins with a negro—for the Governor of Nescopeck has five slaves, a negress and four children. Negroes are regarded by the Indians as inferior creatures. Met the Governor and Isaac and Ben, his sons, who greet us cordially. He greeted us with Kehella! [This was the Delaware ejaculation of pleasure or approval.] Ben had just returned from the hunt. Gave him a pipe tube. Ben gave us a fine deer roast. We presented him with a silver buckle and needles and thread for his wife."

Arrived at Shamokin, de Watteville was greeted by Shikellimy, to whom Zinzendorf had sent a costly gift, and an affectionate message, entreating him to remember the Gospel. The bishop's visit impressed him deeply, and two months later he journeyed to Bethlehem to hear more of the Gospel. He was taken ill while returning and lived but a short time.

Being one of the most prominent sachems of the day, Shikellimy's death attracted marked attention. The Colonial government transmitted a message of condolence, and requested one of his sons to act as Iroquois deputy until a permanent appointment could be made by the Grand Council. The mission at Shamokin did not flourish long after Shikellimy's death, and Zeisberger was transferred to a new enterprise, namely, to establish a mission among the Onondaga Indians in the colony of New York. The embassy was entrusted to Cammerhoff and Zeisberger. Meanwhile the British Parliament had passed an act recognizing the Moravian Church, as "an ancient Protestant Episcopal Church," and exempting them from military service, thus freeing them from such hardships as they had had to undergo at

Shekomeko, when the petty legislators of New York had driven them from their province.

Now were these "Moravian priests," these "vagrant strolling preachers," recognized by the supreme authority of parliament and put on a parity with the Anglican Church.

1750.—In May this year Cammerhoff accompanied by Zeisberger journeyed to Onandaga. "May 20.—Came to Wajomick and went to the Nanticoke town, where we were cordially received. Pitched our tents on a knoll opposite the great flats."

After staying eight days at Wyoming they started northward by canoe to the country of the Iroquois, their guide being a Cayuga chief.

Bishop Cammerhoff in his journal calls the Lackawanna by the Iroquois name of Hatsarok. Somewhere about Gardner's Run, above Pittston, the Bishop came to an Indian settlement on the east side of the river, called Pehendarnetu-chquaminink. A few miles further up the river, on same side, was a fertile strip of land with an old peach orchard, evidently the site of a former Indian plantation.

The journey was one of the most romantic ever undertaken by Moravian missionaries. Great sufferings and wonderful escapes distinguished it. Whenever they came across any Indians they were received with kindness. Both had previously been adopted by the Six Nations—Zeisberger by Shikellimy in 1745, and named Ganousseracheri; Cammerhoff in 1748, and name Gallichwio. On their arrival at Onondaga, June 21 was fixed as the day for the council, but a delay was unavoidable, because most of the Indians were intoxicated. The days passed by without any signs of returning sobriety, and they accordingly deferred action here and paid a visit to the Senecas.

Their journey was marked by great hardship, owing to

the drunkenness which prevailed almost everywhere among the Indians. Finally the council convened at Onondaga. The visitors found it necessary to explain the purposes of the negotiations, as there were charges that they were emissaries of France, endeavoring to entice the Six Nations from their compact with the English. The envoys were even summoned to Philadelphia to explain the situation to the governor. The envoys asked permission for the brethren to live among the Indians in order to learn the language of the Iroquois, and sent a petition from the Nanticokes at Wyoming to have a blacksmith shop, under missionary auspices, as at Shamokin.

Permission for any two Moravians to live among the Six Nations and learn their language was granted, but the petition of the Nanticokes was refused, and they were told to frequent the smithy at Shamokin.

Having attained the chief object of their visit, Cammerhoff and Zeisberger returned by way of Wyoming. Cammerhoff speaks thus of passing through the Wyoming Valley:

"August 2. In the P. M. passed through the Shawanese town, but saw no one, and at 5 P. M. came to the Nanticoke town and were welcomed by the chief."

They reached Shamokin August 6, having traveled 1600 miles on horseback, on foot and in canoe. The hardships of the journey completely shattered Cammerhoff's health, and he did not long survive—his death occurring in the following April. Zeisberger had been sent to Saxony to report to Zinzendorf, and had returned with the appointment of perpetual missionary to the Indians.

1752.—In January, 1752, Zeisberger returned to his old post at Shamokin, but he was anxious to labor amongst the Six Nations. He was accordingly appointed to take up his abode at Onondaga, agreeably to the compact made

with the council. He first joined a party that went to Shamokin and Wyoming. In the course of this tour fifty bushels of wheat were distributed. This induced a body of 107 Nanticokes and Shawanese to visit Gnadenhütten and thank the board. They were hospitably and generously received and entertained both there and at Bethlehem; and returning to Wyoming they spread the fame of the Moravian teachers. A covenant of everlasting friendship had been established.

The Shawanese and Nanticokes of Wyoming Valley had long sought to establish such a covenant of friendship with the Mohicans of Gnadenhütten, and this was now happily accomplished. The much-desired covenant was ratified with due formality and an exchange of wampum. From a record of this event there is obtained the following names of chiefs then dwelling in Wyoming Valley:

Nanticokes—Sampeutiques, John Kossy, John Dutchman, Ioinopion, Robert White (interpreter).

Shawanese—Paxinosa, Patrick.

“In March of 1753 these tribes sent a deputation to Bethlehem urging upon the Moravians the removal of their converts from Gnadenhütten to Wyoming. This the Moravians would not entertain. In fact, they suspected evil in the suggestion, and the sequel showed that the Oneidas of the Six Nations, or perhaps the Six Nations themselves, had urged the step, in view of hostilities with the English—desirous of having all Indians out of the white settlements, safe in the Indian country. It is evident that the war of 1755 was already in contemplation at this time. So urgent were they for the removal of the Moravian Indians to Wyoming that they stated the Nanticokes would move higher up the river and leave their plantations at Wyoming for the new-comers. In this way the Nanticokes came to leave the Valley. This was in 1753. So persistently did the Six

Nations press the removal of the Moravian Indians from Gnadenhütten that in April of 1754 seventy of the latter (much against the wish and urgent dissuasions of their teachers) set out from that place for Wyoming. Among these were Teedyuscung and Abraham Shebash, the Mohican.

"A concern for the spiritual welfare of these seceders now led the Moravian preachers more frequently into the Valley than before, and they strove to keep them true to their professions. When the war broke out in 1755, some of those stray sheep returned to Bethlehem, while others lapsed into their old ways and cast in their lot with the savages. Thus some were lost to the missions."

1753.—In May, Rev. Christian Seidel of Bethlehem visited Wyoming. He was a man of 36. From his journal:

"March 21.—Dined not far from the old Nanticoke town, in the lower part of the Valley, on the east side of the Susquehanna. Found a canoe, in which we crossed to the Shawanese town. Met our convert, old Mohican Abraham, who has his hut here. Were cordially welcomed and shown to a hut, but were annoyed by some traders who came and lodged with us. Abraham and his wife Sarah told us that a great council would be held here in a few days, to which Indians from all parts of the Susquehanna were expected. Hence we resolved to go down to Shamokin, and return after the council. [He failed to return to Wyoming.] Paxinosa, the Shawanese king, and his wife Elizabeth called on us." * * *

In 1753 Zeisberger passed through Wyoming on his way from Bethlehem to Onondaga. At Shamokin he had heard of the invasion of the Ohio by the French, but determined to proceed with a single companion. Arriving by canoe at Wyoming, he found the remnant of the Nanticoke Indians preparing to emigrate northward, with the bones of their

dead, to the country of the Tuscaroras, in a fleet of five canoes. They were acting in compliance with an order from the Grand Council, which also wanted to transfer the Christian Indians of Gnadenhütten to Wyoming. The missionaries declined the invitation of the Nanticokes to join them, and pushed up the river alone. The country was almost depopulated. They reached Onondaga June 8th. It was a time of intense excitement on account of the threats of the French to pass through and open the way to the Ohio. Finding that war was imminent, the missionaries returned to Bethlehem in November.

In 1754 Mack and Roessler visited Wyoming. Mack's journal is of special interest, predicting, as it does, the Penamite War:

June 24. Set out from Gnadenhütten. All the creeks were much swollen, and hence they did not enter the Valley till the 28th. The Susquehanna had overflowed its banks, so that where people usually dwelt and planted was now swept by a tearing stream. For a time they saw no living being, but afterwards saw a canoe and hailed it, whereupon an Indian came to the shore and set Mack and his companion over. They had many callers, among others Paxinosa's young son. Mohican Abraham was at this time living in the Shawanese town. There they met Abraham and his wife Sarah. At the son's request, Mack held a meeting in old Paxinosa's cabin. He was not at home. Abraham interpreted. Meanwhile the Delawares and Mohicans assembled and Mack preached to them. Then he had conversation with the old Gnadenhütten converts. Although Paxinosa was absent, many other Indians from up and down the Susquehanna had assembled at his town to take council with him in reference to a message to the Five Nations, who had sent them a belt of wampum. This crowd Mack also addressed, on request, after which he was

invited to dine in Paxinosa's cabin. Meanwhile more and more Indians arrived, and at last came Paxinosa. * * *

Mack thus observes in his journal:

First. Wyoming is in a critical condition. The New Englanders, in right of a royal charter, lay claim to Wyoming. The Pennsylvanians hold it is within the proprietary grant and wish the Indians to sell it to them. Thus the Indians are in a dilemma; for if they yield to the solicitations of the Pennsylvanians and oppose the New Englanders who desire to settle here, and who threaten to shoot their horses and cows (and the Pennsylvanians urge them to oppose them), they know there will be a war, as the New Englanders are a people who refuse to regard the Indians as lords of the soil, and who will subjugate them if they refuse to evacuate the Valley.

Second. Our convert Delawares and Mohicans have received a message from the Five Nations to send a deputation up to Onondaga to ask of them a district of their own somewhere on the river, and for permission to have religious teachers of their own.

Third. There is a general interest in religion among the Indians of the Valley. They desire the Moravians to send teachers to tell them the word of the true God.

Fourth. The recent floods have ruined all the plantations and destroyed the corn and beans.

In 1754 Bernhard Adam Grube²⁴ and Carl Gottfried Rundt journeyed from Gnadenhütten to Wyoming. Their diary

24. Bernhard Adam Grube was born in 1715 and was educated at the University of Jena. His first missionary station was Meniolagomeka in 1752. This village lay eight miles west of the Wind Gap, in Monroe county, Pa., at the intersection of the road to Wilkes-Barre. He acquired the Delaware language and translated into it a Harmony of the Gospels. In 1754 he visited Wyoming and spent fifteen months at Shamokin, where he says the Moravian blacksmith shop was on one occasion taken possession of by 30 warriors, who for eight days made it the scene of their drunken revels. There was constant danger from the savages. In 1755 he was in charge at Gnadenhütten, and barely escaped with his life in the memorable massacre of that year. After a long and eventful life of devoted service he died in 1806 at the age of 91. See Pennsylvania Magazine of History, April, 1901.

goes into considerable detail as to their stay among the Indians. They were cordially welcomed by Paxinosa, who was at this time king of the Shawanese at Wyoming. In this diary the name is written Pakschanoos. The old king and his entire family attended a baptism of an Indian woman, performed by the missionaries—the first time that sacrament had ever been administered in the historic valley. Rundt was at this time a man of 41 and Grube was two years younger.

“Diary of a journey made by the Brethren Grube and Rundt to Wajomik 1754.”

“July 22.—Brother Rundt and I left our beloved Gnadenhütten, at noon, to go to (Wajomick) Wyoming. Our dear Brethren Mack and Sensemann accompanied us for a mile, and then, after they had sung a few verses for us, took an affectionate leave. It was very warm and the mountains were very high. Traveled 18 miles and camped for the night at the foot of the mountain, where Nutimus’s hunting cabin formerly stood. Muschgetters (mosquitoes) tormented us all night.

“July 23.—Started early and reached Wapwallopen. It rained hard and we were drenched, so we passed Wapwallopen and spent the night near the Susquehanna, where we made ourselves quite comfortable.

“July 24.—We went up the Susquehanna to Thomas Lehmann, an Indian acquaintance. He gave us milk and was very friendly. He told us of a nearer route to Wyoming, this side of the Susquehanna, which led over the mountains. It consisted of a narrow foot-path which disappeared after awhile. We had to determine our course by notched trees; but these became scarce and soon none remained. We turned to the left towards a mountain from which, to our great surprise, we could overlook the plain. We pushed our way through the forest with much difficulty.

"Came to the Susquehanna where we had to cross a swampy creek ; and then, traversing a plain this side of the river, we arrived at a former Nanticoke town. We followed a foot-path to the right, and were soon met by Joachim, Simon and another Indian, who greeted us in a friendly manner, and showed us a fallen tree on which to cross the creek. Towards evening we arrived at several plantations along the Susquehanna, where we found the aged Moses and his wife, and several sisters hoeing corn. They came and shook hands and greeted us. Then Moses took us across the Susquehanna to a Shawanese town.

"We greeted the Brethren and Sisters, who were glad to see us, especially Brother Abraham, who kissed us and gave us a place in the center of his hut. Our Brethren and Sisters were about the only ones in town, as the Shawanese had gone hunting. After an hour the aged Nathaniel returned from hunting and with him Joshua, the Delawaree from Gnadenhütten ; likewise Marcus, Jacob's son, Elias, Andrew's son, and Appowagenant. They all took up their quarters in our hut. About 22 of us were assembled.

"July 25.—Gideon (Teedyuscung) and his son came from across the Susquehanna and said the visit of the Brethren pleased him very much, and he wished that we might live amongst them. Towards evening the wife of the old Shawanese chief Paxinosa returned home with her children. She greeted us very cordially. We also crossed the river and visited two Delaware huts. Isaac of Nescopeck, who was there, said he had been baptised by Mack at Gnadenhütten. I told him more about the Saviour, and then recrossed the river and entered the Shawanese town. Abraham had in the meantime called a meeting and the hut was quite full. Brother Nathaniel acted as interpreter. At the close of my address I asked them if they would like to hear more about the Saviour each night, and they all signified assent with "gohanna, gohanna." Retired with gladdened hearts.

"July 26.—Early this morning we continued our journey, accompanied by Abraham, Nathaniel and Moses, up the Susquehanna for 11 miles. On the way Abraham showed us the place where he intended to build his house, namely, half a mile farther on, where Zinzendorf's fifth resting place had been. The land is elevated and near a creek. The locality has a large spring, and is not to be surpassed. The land is level and fertile. Wood abounds. There is an outcropping of limestone several miles long and one-fourth mile distant from the Susquehanna.

"In the afternoon we came to the end of Wyoming, where we were taken across the river. We came to a Minisink town, which consisted of 11 houses. We called upon the chief, who had told Abraham that if the Brethren should come from Gnadenhütten, they should visit him. We were therefore heartily welcomed. They gave us food. Soon after the most of the Indians, as well as our Brethren, went into the "sweat house."²⁵

"The chief made preparations for a meeting in an empty hut large enough for two fireplaces. The chief summoned all the people. The women sat around one fire and the men around the other. I then sang a few Delaware verses and Nathaniel translated them. I said that I was very glad that they had a desire to hear something about our God, and would therefore tell them words of life. We concluded by singing a few verses, and then retired to our stopping place. Brother Nathaniel, however, was called out and asked to tell again what I had said. This he did. We re-

25. For description of the medicine sweat, an aboriginal Turkish bath, see *The Story of the Indians* by George Bird Grinnell, also Heckewelder's *Indian Nations*, p. 219. It was built of earth and would hold from one to six persons. Stones were heated and placed into vessels containing decoctions of roots and plants. The Indians would crawl inside and sweat and smoke for an hour, after which they would dash out for a plunge in the nearest stream. Sweating seems to have been their chief medication, though bleeding was sometimes resorted to. For details as to Indian medicine see Loskiel, 112.

tired in the meantime, and thanked the Saviour for this open door to the hearts of the Minisink Indians.

"July 27.—Early in the morning we visited Anton's father, who spoke to us much about his spiritual affairs. After having partaken of a meal in our quarters, we bade farewell and were about to leave, but the chief asked us to remain a little longer, as he wished to summon his people again, for they desired to hear once more about our Saviour. They were soon assembled. I told them again about salvation through the blood of Christ. The people were attentive and quiet and responded to every sentence with a loud "kehella." Before the meeting a man had spoken with the Indian brethren Abraham and Nathaniel, saying he was a poor sinner, and wished to learn to know our God. We took leave of each one and continued on our way rejoicing. On the journey we heard that Joshua, the Mohican, from Gnadenhütten had come. We were surprised; but when we arrived home he had already gone, much to the regret of Abraham. We were gladdened by a note from our dear Joseph at Gnadenhütten. As the Shawanese chief Paxinosa had returned home with his sons, we went to visit him. He was very glad to see us. Abraham said Paxinosa desired to have a meeting to-night, because he would like to hear about the Saviour. About 30 Indians and the whole family of Paxinosa assembled. The men sat at one end of the hut and the women at the other, while we were in the middle. Then I preached the Gospel to them. Both before and after the address we sang a few Delaware verses. The youngest son of Paxinosa and another Shawanese came to us with two violins, and desired to hear our melodies. We played a little, at which they and our Brethren and Sisters were well pleased. It rained very hard during the night, and as the roof was very poor we became quite wet.

"July 28.—Old Nathaniel awakened us by singing a Mo-

hican verse. Paxinosa visited us, and I read several Delaware verses for him. He prepared his empty hut for us, so that we could speak in private with some of the brethren and sisters. Abraham and Sarah spoke very nicely. What grieved them the most was that they had to dispense with the Lord's Supper here. We also conversed with Nathaniel. He said: 'If only the Brethren at Gnadenhütten would again receive me.' We replied that as soon as he felt in his heart that he was forgiven by the Saviour, the Brethren at Gnadenhütten would willingly forgive him. He was very humble and penitent. We then spoke with Moses and Miriam, Adolph and Tabea, John and Debora, and also Joachim, who said: 'I know I am a wicked man, but I cannot help myself.'

"By this time the hut was quite well filled. The subject of my preaching was 'Jesus accepts sinners.' The unusual attention which was shown made my heart rejoice. In the afternoon we went out on the plain to see the old Mohican mother. She was anxious to be baptised, but was not yet decided. She said: 'About twelve years ago (1742) when Martin Mack's wife spoke to me, I felt something of the Saviour in my heart. Since then I could not forget it. A year ago I was at Gnadenhütten, and although I felt I was a sinner, I went three times and asked to be baptised. However, I was not baptised, but returned to Wajomic. Ever since that time I have had a longing for the Saviour. Mack promised that he would baptize me when he came in the fall.' I asked whether she considered it proper to be baptised now and she replied yes. I told her that the Saviour would baptise her to-day and receive her as his child, at which she greatly rejoiced. She grasped our hands and said: "Oneewe, oneewe!" When we made preparations for the baptism, Sarah clothed the candidate in a white dress. When the people had assembled she brought her in and seated her in the center of the hut upon

a pounding block. Upon another block in front of her, which was covered with a cloth, stood the water. There were present about thirty persons, baptised and unbaptised. Paxinosa was present with his whole family. We first sang in the Delaware tongue. Then I spoke about baptism as the Saviour gave me utterance. Then followed the singing of a verse, after which I offered prayer in behalf of the candidate. I then baptised her, giving her the name Marie. Not the least disturbance was made.

"July 29.—Conversed with our dear old Marie, and was told by her that she was happy in her baptism. We had a farewell meeting and commended all to the protection of the wounded Lamb of God. Abraham and Sara accompanied us as far as the plain. Having told us how they felt toward the Saviour and the congregation at Bethlehem, and having asked us to greet the latter, we took affectionate leave. We then crossed the plain till we arrived at the great [Nanticoke] fall, where we caught a mess of fish. At night we arrived this side of Thomas Lehman's place, and encamped on the banks of the Susquehanna for the night.

"July 30.—We rose early and had ourselves taken across the Susquehanna. With Thomas Lehman I entered into conversation, making use of the opportunity to tell him the motive of our concerning ourselves so much about the Indians. He understands English well, having had much to do with the whites. We passed Waphallobank, and as it began to rain hard, we built a hut of bark in which to pass the night.

"July 31.—We arrived at Nescopeck, where we lodged with old Nutimus. He and his son Pantes were very friendly. In the afternoon we crossed the Susquehanna and went a distance of four miles to visit our dear old Solomon, whom we also found at home with his son John Thomas. They were very glad to see us and have us lodge with them over night. At night I sung some Delaware verses for them,

"August 1.—Early in the morning we again started for Nescopeck. Solomon kissed us at parting, and asked us to greet the folks at home. We visited a few huts in Nescopeck, but had little opportunity to speak about our Saviour. At noon we continued our journey and arrived at this side of the Deer Mountain, encamping on the banks of a creek for the night.

"August 2.—We crossed the other mountains gladly and cheerfully, and at night arrived at our dear Gnadenhütten with glad hearts. We thanked the Saviour that he had so safely and signally led and guided us.

"BERNHARD ADAM GRUBE,

"Gnadenhütten.

"CARL GOTTFRIED RUNDT."

Zeisberger and Post also visited Wyoming in 1754.

In 1755 Mack made three visits to Wyoming, in spite of the Indian war.

"Sept. 1.—Told Paxinosa I would go up to the Minsi town to preach, to which he gave consent. We started accompanied by Paxinosa, his wife (Elizabeth), who carried a basket of watermelons. At the Minsi town met Christian Frederick Post. In the evening I preached in a large cabin with three fire places.

"Sept. 2.—Preached again * * *

"Sept. 3.—Visited in different huts * * *"

In October Mack preached at the Minsi town at the mouth of the Lackawanna, but was disturbed by a great gathering of Indians who had come there from all quarters to celebrate the "Feast of the Harvest," which lasted for days, attended with dancing, carousals, etc., which so disturbed Mack that he saw fit to leave the place.

In June, 1758, Post²⁶ was sent by the Governor of Penn-

26. Christian Frederick Post, the most adventurous of Moravian missionaries, was born in Germany in 1710. Coming to America in the year of Zinzendorf's visit to Wyoming, he engaged in missionary work among the Indians. He was twice married to Indian women. He preached to the Indians in Wyoming. In 1758 the government sent him on a dangerous mission to the Ohio, which resulted in the evacuation of Fort du Quesne by the French and the restoration of peace.

sylvania with a message to King Teedyuscung at Wyoming (Quawomik). He writes :

"June 27.—Came to the town on this side of the river about two p. m. My Indian companions called out, on which a great number of Indians came out of their houses, many with painted faces, and upwards of forty strangers of different tribes. Teedyuscung's house was as full as it could hold. Found a captive woman, Cobus Decker's daughter, from the Jersey Minisinks, also a trader from Lancaster county, Lawrence Bork, who has been here during the whole war."

In 1762 Zeisberger visited Wyoming twice—in March and November. In March his errand was to deliver a message from the Governor to King Teedyuscung in reference to a treaty. While here he met ten Onondaga warriors on the way south to resume hostilities with the Cherokees, the prosecution of which had been interrupted by the French and Indian war of 1755.

Teedyuscung complained much of the cost at Wyoming of entertaining passing Indians—said that they ate him out of house and home, and that he thought of leaving and settling at Wapwallopen.

For this trying journey from Philadelphia to Wyoming and return Zeisberger received £5. He had to take an Indian guide, as the country was covered with snow and the weather most severe. He paid the guide £3 and expenses of his horse. Zeisberger hopes £5 for his own services "will not be thought too much, considering how many days it hath taken up and what danger I have been in." His bill for the journey is given in Doc. His. of New York, iv, 200. Some account is given also in Loskiel's History of the Moravian Missions, part 2, p. 197.

In November Zeisberger went to Wyoming purposely to

see old Abraham, who was dying, but arrived too late to see him alive.

Zeisberger speaks of two towns—one he calls a Mohican town, where Abraham and other converts from Gnadenhütten lived, and near which, at his request, Abraham was buried—and a second one, Teedyuscung's town, both of which were on the east side of the river.

Zeisberger records that in the Spring of 1765 two seals were shot in the Susquehanna near Wyoming by the Indians. These were what were called harbor seals, which at that time used to ascend the rivers of the United States for the purpose of bearing their young. They lived on fish. Owing to a prevailing famine the strange creatures were considered as having been sent by God and were eaten.

Bishop John Ettwein, who several times passed through Wyoming on his way from Bethlehem to the Indian town at Wyalusing, states in his journal of 1767:

"On descending the Wyoming Mountain into the Valley, my Indian guide pointed out a pile of stones, said to indicate the number of Indians who had already climbed the mountain; it being a custom for each one to add one to the heap on passing that way. At 2 p. m. I reached Mr. Ogden's, where I was hospitably entertained. The Shawanese have all left the Valley, and the only traces of them are their places of burial, in crevices and caves in the rocks, at whose entrances stand large stones painted."

His route was from Bethlehem, northwest over the Blue Mountain, through the Pine Swamp, across the headwaters of the Lehigh to Wyoming. His journal says: "Continued my journey to Wyalusing. Rode up the east bank of the Susquehanna through a large flat, nine miles to Lackawanna (Lechawah-hanneck), where there was an Indian town up to 1755, and where our missionaries occasionally preached. It is now totally deserted by Indians. Along-

side of the path is a graveyard and upwards of thirty graves can be seen."

Ettwein was born in Wurtemberg in 1721. He led the Moravian Church through the stormy times of the Revolution.

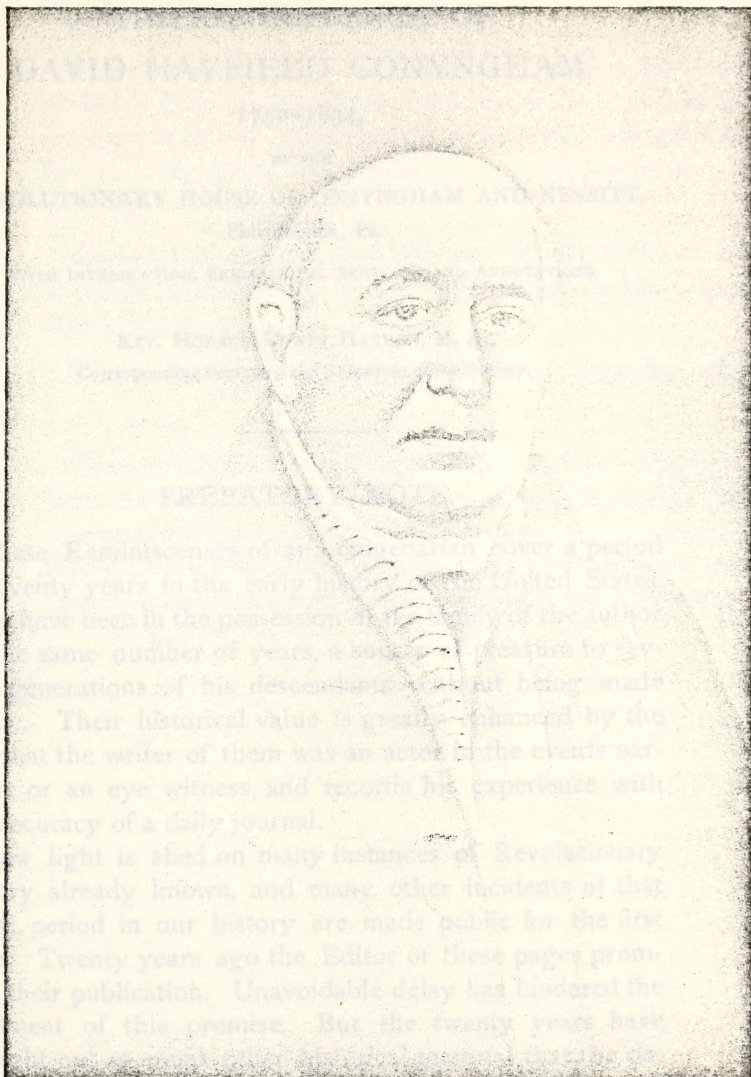
With the tragic death of Teedyuscung in 1763 the Indian occupancy of Wyoming Valley ceased, except as it was occasionally visited by Indians from the Moravian village of Friedenshütten up the Susquehanna in search of game or fish or hemp. With the abandonment of the Valley by Teedyuscung's handful of people there came to an end the faithful missionary effort which had been projected by Zinzendorf 21 years earlier.

The brave Moravians had done their work and done it well, but the savage heart was not receptive soil for the gospel seed. Though sometimes attended with gratifying success, there was not that widespread evangelization which the self-denying Moravians had toiled and struggled for. The red man was already disappearing under the ravages of destitution, drunkenness and disease (for much of which the avaricious and unprincipled white man was responsible), but the hopeful Moravian missionaries clung to him to the last and were faithful to the end. With the disappearance of the Indian and his Moravian teachers came our new civilization from Connecticut.

FRIEDENSHUETTEN (WYALUSING) MISSION.

Though outside of Wyoming Valley, this mission deserves mention, as it was the last Moravian station of any importance within the boundaries of Pennsylvania. It was subsequent to the Wyoming occupancy by the Indians, and only ended when the Connecticut migration to Northeastern Pennsylvania began. The Friedenshütten (Houses of Peace) mission was made up of Minsi Indians, who, after having been temporarily housed in Philadelphia during the

Indian war of 1763, were compelled to remove from the white man's territory. They found a home at Wyalusing, whither they repaired in 1765, built a town and remained there until the emigration to the Ohio seven years later. In 1772 they abandoned Friedenshütten, one detachment going down the Susquehanna past Wyoming and thence up the north branch, where they met a detachment who had gone across the country to the mouth of Muncy Creek. As they passed Wilkes-Barre, the newly-founded town of the Connecticut people, the Moravians rang their chapel bell, which they carried in one of their boats. A diary of the mission has been published in the Moravian by John W. Jordan, and many interesting details are given by Reichel in the transactions of the Moravian Historical Society. The diary contains many interesting references to Wyoming, which was on the route to Bethlehem, and which was frequently resorted to for hunting or for the gathering of hemp. The Valley of Wyoming had been evacuated by its Indian occupants soon after the death of Teedyuscung in 1763, and was already being contested for by rival claimants under Pennsylvania and Connecticut, a contest that developed into the Pennamite wars. The encroachments of the contending whites led the Friedenshütten converts to seek a home in the Ohio country.



DAVID HAYFIELD CONYNGHAM.

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These Reminiscences cover three separate periods in the
dependence from the Stamp Act, 1765, to the
recognition of independence, 1783, which the patriotic
spirit of Conyngham and Nesbitt were important factors in

THE REMINISCENCES OF
DAVID HAYFIELD CONYNGHAM,
1750-1834,

OF THE
REVOLUTIONARY HOUSE OF CONYNGHAM AND NESBITT,
Philadelphia, Pa.

WITH INTRODUCTION, BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES AND ANNOTATIONS,

BY

REV. HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN, M. A.,
Corresponding Secretary and Librarian of the Society.

PREFATORY NOTE.

These Reminiscences of an octogenarian cover a period of seventy years in the early history of the United States. They have been in the possession of the family of the author for the same number of years, a source of pleasure to several generations of his descendants without being made public. Their historical value is greatly enhanced by the fact that the writer of them was an actor in the events narrated, or an eye witness, and records his experience with the accuracy of a daily journal.

New light is shed on many instances of Revolutionary history already known, and many other incidents of that initial period in our history are made public for the first time. Twenty years ago the Editor of these pages promised their publication. Unavoidable delay has hindered the fulfilment of this promise. But the twenty years have brought out so much other historical material that the delay has been the enrichment of the annotations.

These Reminiscences cover three separate periods in the experience of the author.

First, the struggle of the American Colonies for Independence from the inception of the Stamp Act, 1763, to the recognition of our Independence, 1783, which the patriotic firm of Conyngham and Nesbitt were important factors in securing.

Second, the campaign of Western Pennsylvania, or the Whiskey Insurrection, in which he served in the United States Army, 1794.

Third, his visit to the then new State of Kentucky, 1807.

The portrait of David Hayfield Conyngham which prefaces the Reminiscences is from an oil painting in the possession of his family, and the illustrations of the Conyngham House, Fort Wilson and Hon. Richard Peters were generously loaned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

INTRODUCTION.

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DAVID HAYFIELD CONYNGHAM.

The prominence in the civil and military history of Pennsylvania of the author of the following Reminiscences justifies a more elaborate sketch of his life than has heretofore been written.

DAVID HAYFIELD CONYNGHAM was the eldest son of Redmond Conyngham, Esq., of Letterkenny, Ireland, and Philadelphia, Pa., the original member and founder of the shipping house of "Conyngham & Nesbitt," that held an eminent position in the mercantile history of Philadelphia from 1745 to 1802. As many of the near relatives of Mr. Conyngham are referred to in his Reminiscences, a brief genealogical statement will make clear their connexion.

While nobility of character does not depend on nobility of ancestry, it appears from the Peerages of Dugdale, Burke, Lodge, Foster and others, and from London Notes and Queries,¹ that the

RT. REVEREND WILLIAM CONYNGHAM, D.D., born 1512-13, Bishop of Argyll, Scotland, 1539-1558, was a younger son of William Conyngham, Fourth Earl of Glencairn in the Peerage of Scotland.

Robertson's Ayrshire Families, quoting from Wood's (Douglas) Peerage, says the fifth son of the fourth Earl was "William Bishop of Argyll, ancestor of the present Marquis of Conynghame in Ireland." This William Conyngham, "*juvenem annos sex et viginti natum, ex nobili et potenti familia*," was educated for the Church, matriculated University of St. Andrew's 1532, made Provost Trinity College, Edinburgh, 1538, and raised to the see of Argyll by

1. v. Notes and Queries, 4th S. XI. 16, 78, 264, 488. XII. 18. 5th S. I. 329. IV. 282, 357, 435, 518, where the matter is exhaustively discussed.

James V. February 1, 1539. He was succeeded in his see 1558 by Rt. Rev. James Hamilton.

"THE VERY REV. ALEXANDER CONYNGHAM, M. A., was the son of Dr. William Conyngham, Bishop of Argyle in Scotland, a scion of the family of the Earls of Glencairn." (Cotton "Fasti Ecclesiæ Hibernicæ," III: 361, 368, 370. V: 266.) In 1616 he was naturalized as an English subject (Rot. Pat. 14, Jac. 1), was the first Protestant minister of Inver and Kellymard, County Donegal, 1611 (Lodge's Peerage, VIII: 178), ordained the Prebend of Inver in 1611, and that of Kellymard in the same year; vacating Kellymard 1622 and Inver 1630, both in the Cathedral of Raphoe, on succeeding to the Deanery of Raphoe by patent of April 27; installed June 22, 1630, when Dean Adair was consecrated Bishop of Killaloe 1629-30." He was born circa 1580; died September 3, 1660.

Cotton errs in making him a *son* of the Bishop of Argyle. Foster more accurately makes him a grandson. He settled at Mount Charles, County Donegal. Part of his estate he held by lease from the Earl of Annandale, part he took up on removing to Ireland, as Charles I. "gave letters patent of denization to Alexander Conyngham, and 320 acres of land in Dromlogheran and Corcoma in present of Portlagh, Barony of Raphoe, called the Manor of Rosse Conyngham." His preferment as Dean secured him the grant of Carrohardvarne, Corleaugh-in-begg, Fodrialter, Fanedorke, Tullydonnill, etc. Part of his estate he acquired by marriage with Marian, daughter of John Murray, who is named in Pynnar's Survey of 1619, as owning all of Boylagh and Banagh, County Donegal, the original property of the O'Boyles, Chiefs of the Clan Chindfaoldadh, of Tir Ainmi-reach, and of Tir Boghaine, territories which cover all the present Baronies of Boylagh and Banagh.

Alexander Conyngham, Dean of Raphoe, is credited by Burke with having had twenty-seven sons and daughters,

four of the sons reaching manhood, viz.: Alexander, who died during the life of his father; George of Killenlesseragh, Esq., who died without male issue; Sir Albert, who was knighted and whose grandson became the Marquis Conyngham, of Mount Charles; and William of Ballydavitt, Esq.

George Conyngham of Killenlesseragh, County Longford, by will dated May 5, 1684, probated November 25, 1684, devised lands to his brother William Conyngham of Ballydavitt, to his nephew Alexander of Aighan, and his brother Andrew; and names his brother Sir Albert Conyngham.

William Conyngham of Ballydavitt, County Donegal, by will dated October 8, 1700, entails on his nephew Alexander of Aighan all his lands in County Donegal, with legacy to his niece Katherine Connolly, daughter of his brother Sir Albert, will sealed with the Conyngham arms, "*a shake fork between three mullets.*"

Alexander Conyngham of Aighan, gentleman, whose will is dated December 27, 1701, entails on his eldest son Richard Conyngham of Dublin, merchant, all these lands, and the lands of Ballyboe, granted to Alexander by lease forever in 1669 by Richard Murray of Broughton, and on Richard's male heir, in default of which to his second son Andrew, and on his male heir, in default of which to said Richard's right heir. These very lands thus limited on Richard's right heirs are found in 1721 in the possession of Captain David Conyngham of Ballyherrin and Letterkenny, the son of Alexander Conyngham of Rosguil, whose will dated November 18, 1757, probated June 15, 1759, entails his estate on his son Redmond Conyngham of Philadelphia, whose will dated March 21, 1778, conveyed the estate to his son David Hayfield Conyngham, whose eldest son, Redmond Conyngham of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, by law inherited the estate, but at whose instance his father broke the entail, disposing of the estate for \$150,000.

ALEXANDER CONYNGHAM of Rosguil, County Donegal, had among his ten children—

1. Rev. William, Rector of Letterkenny, d. 1782, æ 91.
- + 2. Capt. David of Ballyherrin and Letterkenny, *supra*.
3. Adam of Cranford, d. 1729, father of Captain John Conyngham, who served with Braddock, 1755, *of whom later*.
4. Gustavus of Rosguil, father of Captain Gustavus Conyngham, U. S. Navy, 1775-1783, *of whom later*.
5. Alexander, who d. s. p. and left his estate to his nephews.
6. Andrew.

II. CAPTAIN DAVID CONYNGHAM of Ballyherrin and Letterkenny, Ireland, had—

- + 7. Redmond of Letterkenny, and Philadelphia, Pa.
8. Isabella, married David Stewart, and had David, *of whom later*.
9. Mary, married Rev. Thomas Plunkett, and had William Conyngham, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and Baron Plunkett; and Captain David Plunkett of the American Army, *of whom later*.
10. Alexander, who died Philadelphia, Oct. 14, 1748.
11. Hannah, married Rev. Oliver MacCausland, Rector of Finlangen, *of whom later*.
12. Catharine, married Colonel, Sir David Ross, whose only son, David Ross-Conyngham, was made the heir of Redmond C. pending the attainder of David H. Conyngham.
13. Isabella Hanlon. 14. Martha A. 15. Margaret. 16. Lydia. 17. Elizabeth. All of whom died single.

VII. REDMOND CONYNGHAM, ESQ., b. Letterkenny, Ireland, 1719; died there January 17, 1784, where he and his wife are buried. He married, Philadelphia, January 13, 1749, Martha Ellis, born Philadelphia, February 13, 1731; died Derry, Ireland, April 15, 1768, daughter of Robert Ellis, Esq., of Philadelphia, and Catherine, his wife.²

"Died. April 15, 1768, Mrs. Martha Conyngham, the amiable and virtuous consort of Mr. Redmond Conyngham of this city, Merchant, departed this life at Londonderry, greatly and deservedly regretted by all who had the Pleasure of her Acquaintance, particularly her Relations and intimate Friends. And it may with Propriety be said on this affecting Occasion,

" 'When such Friends part

The Survivor dies.' "

—*Pa. Gazette, Aug. 11, 1768.*

Redmond Conyngham came to Philadelphia about 1740, and established himself as a shipping merchant, in which business he became eminently successful. The published statement that he was a Quaker and emigrated in 1731, when only fifteen years old, is not correct, nor is it sustained by any family tradition. That he was a young man of wise judgment, thorough business habits, and possessed of an unusual knowledge of human nature, appears not only in his commercial success, but also in the character of his associates and of those with whom he surrounded himself as employees. About 1748 he associated with himself in business Mr. Theophilus Gardner, under the firm name of Conyngham & Gardner, which was dissolved probably the latter part of 1751, when Mr. Gardner shipped goods to Londonderry in his own vessels. Mr. Gardner does not appear in the shipping list after 1751. Among the appren-

2. ROBERT ELLIS, merchant and iron founder. He was a prominent man in early Philadelphia; Member of the Common Council Oct. 3, 1722-24; Member of Durham Iron Co., Bucks Co., 1727—sold his product to the Moravians at Bethlehem; Grand Jurymen, Philadelphia, October, 1734; Member of Christ Church, and Vestryman 1719, 1720, 1722-27, 1735. In 1741 he signed the appeal from the Wardens and Vestry that Rev. Richard Peters might succeed Rev. Archibald Cummings, who died April 19, 1741, as Rector of Christ Church. He was Justice of Bucks Co. Dec. 17, 1745, and June 30, 1749. (Davis' Bucks Co., 642-644; Shippen Papers, 12; Pa. Mag., XXI, 122; Pa. Arch., 2d S., III, 748.)

tices³ who entered Mr. Conyngham's counting room to learn the business by four years of service, and those to whom he entrusted his affairs, were such men as John Maxwell Nesbitt, his partner 1759-1784, and his brothers Alexander and Jonathan Nesbitt, all connected with his own family in Ireland; Walter Stewart, another kinsman, apprenticed to him in 1772, who later became distinguished as Colonel in the Pennsylvania Line, brevet Brigadier General 1783, and Major General, Pennsylvania Militia 1794; David Stewart, his nephew; David Plunkett, his nephew, Captain in the Revolutionary Army; and Gustavus Conyngham, his first cousin, the son of his uncle Gustavus, who came to Philadelphia 1763, and whose exploits as Captain in the U. S. Navy 1775-1783 are so well known; Andrew Stewart and others. The apprentice first named, John Maxwell Nesbitt,⁴ so impressed Mr. Conyngham by his fine

3. APPRENTICES.—From the 15th century Trade Guilds dominated the commercial life of Great Britain: skilled labor alone was recognized by these Guilds. By the "Statute of apprenticeship" (5th Eliz'h), no person could exercise any trade, craft or mystery then exercised in England unless he had previously served to it an apprenticeship of seven years at least. The influence of this law was felt throughout the Colonies as well until the middle of the last century. In commercial business four years became the limit in America.

Anciently benchers in the Inns of Court were called "*apprentices of the law*;" a medical bond before me at this writing, dated 1734, binds as "*an Apprentice and Servant*" in the business of Physick Surgery and Pharmacy for six years," one of the most prominent physicians of the Revolutionary War.

4. John Maxwell Nesbitt, b. Loughbrickland, County Down, Ireland, about 1730; d. unmarried, Philadelphia, January, 1802; will dated April 24, 1800; probated January 25, 1802. He was the son of Jonathan Nesbitt of Loughbrickland, and his wife, sister of Alexander Lang, who in 1747, and later, was a shipping merchant in Philadelphia, where he died 1749. Mr. N. was one of a family of nine children—John Maxwell, Jonathan, Alexander (all of whom came to Philadelphia), James and George (who had lands adjoining lands of J. M. N. in Pennsylvania), Frances, Sarah, Esther and Elizabeth Ann. To each of his sisters, Francis, Sarah and Elizabeth, and brother James, he gave by will \$50 annually for life. The others probably dead 1802. He made D. H. Conyngham, his "friend and partner," his residuary legatee. The Nesbitt family of L. was probably connected with that of Redmond Conyngham. Alexander N., who went from Scotland to Ireland 16—, married his cousin Alice, daughter of Rev. Alexander Conyngham, Dean of Raphoe, and their grandson George N. of Woodhill County Donegal, married Catherine, daughter of Capt. David Conyngham of Ballydavitt. (Burke's Land. Gent., 1852, 938.)

John Maxwell Nesbitt came to Philadelphia, sailing from Belfast in the ship of Capt. Faulkner, February, 1747, under the care and expense of his uncle Alexander Lang,

business faculty and habits, that when he had completed his apprenticeship, about 1756, he took him into partnership under the firm name of Conyngham & Nesbitt. In 1766 Mr. Conyngham, having firmly established his business and increased his estate, decided to return to his home

who apprenticed him to Conyngham and Gardner to learn the shipping trade. Mr. Lang dying 1749, his father wrote him: "You can't yet be Sensible of your loss in so Dear a friend as your Uncle was wch you can only have made up by a Steady Trust in God. The true way to procure his protection and advice, Take heart and discharge your duty and Trust. Make no doubt that God will in Good Time promote your Interest."

This advice Nesbitt followed, as his successes prove. It was Mr. Lang's intention to take him from C. & G. into his own office, but his death preventing this change, he remained with Mr. Conyngham. He also brought his brothers, Jonathan and Alexander, to Philadelphia as apprentices to the same concern. His business qualifications and his integrity of character so commended him to Mr. C, that probably as early as 1756 he was taken into partnership under the firm name of "Conyngham & Nesbitt." As early as 1756 the two owned and sailed ships in partnership, and in 1759 the "Hannah" of 50 tons was registered as owned by "Conyngham and Nesbitt." After Mr. C. had returned to Ireland and D. H. C. was made a member of the firm, it was changed to Conyngham, Nesbitt & Co. During the war it was also J. M. Nesbitt & Co. In 1783 D. H. C. signed the name C. N. & Co., but after the death of the senior member it became Conyngham & Nesbitt.

Mr. Nesbitt filled many honored positions, social and official, in Pennsylvania. Original Member Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, 1771; Vice President May 1771—June 17, 1773; President June 16, 1773—June 17, 1782, and June 17, 1782—March, 1796; Member Hibernian Society 1790 and one of its founders; Member Com. Correspondence May 20, 1774, State and County; Deputy to the Provincial Convention July 15, 1774; Paymaster State Navy September 14, 1775; Treasurer to the Council of Safety July 27, 1776; of the State Battalion July 27, 1776; of the State Navy Board February 18, 1777; of the State Board for Land Service March—August, 1777; of the Board of War March 14, 1777, &c.; appointed to settle accounts of the late Committee and Council of Safety Dec. 15, 1778; Member Republican Society March, 1779; Warden of the Port of Philadelphia October 7, 1788. His firm subscribed £5,000 to the Pennsylvania Bank 1780, and he was elected an Inspector of the Bank. In 1781 he was one of the organizers and member Board of Directors of the Bank of North America until January 9, 1792. (v. Hist. Bank N. A.) In 1791 he was elected President Insurance Company of North America. For further mention of him see the Reminiscences.

Part of the property willed by Mr. Nesbitt to Mr. Conyngham was in possession of Major Harry Gordon of the British Army, who was attainted of high treason as "Henry Gordon" by the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania March 20, 1781. It was patented to him for 1497 acres May 17, 1774, in Frankstown township, Bedford county, Pa., and confiscated in 1781. The Agents of Forfeited Estates sold this land in 1782 to James Wood for £2,008. Between the above dates Peace was proclaimed. In 1783 the Executive Committee conveyed the 1497 acres to James Wood, he to J. M. Nesbitt, and Nesbitt by will devised it to D. H. Conyngham, whose claim was confirmed by the courts. (Yates' Penna. Reports, 3, 471.)

In 1783 J. M. Nesbitt also bought 11 lots of land in Philadelphia county, forfeited estate of Andrew Elliott, for which he paid £14,640; the President of the State gave the deed. (Col. Rec. 12, 646, 746.) This was property occupied by the firm of C. & N, on Front St., Philadelphia, 1783.

in Ireland, where he held large landed interests, to end his days near his mother, then living, retaining, however, his interest in the shipping and importing house in Philadelphia. An account of this return is given in the Reminiscences.

In February, 1775, his son David Hayfield, having completed the term of his apprenticeship, was made a partner in the house, when it is claimed that the name of the firm was changed to Conyngham, Nesbitt & Co. After the Revolutionary War was fully opened, it was deemed best, owing to the fact that the head of this important firm resided in Ireland, and the junior member was an active patriot, and soldier in the American Army, to alter the name to John M. Nesbitt & Co., under which title the firm continued business until the death of Mr. John M. Nesbitt, 1802. However this may be, papers of the house still exist that show the firm name to have been Conyngham & Nesbitt from 1764 until dissolved by the death of Mr. Nesbitt.

Mr. Conyngham's shipping interests, doubtless begun on a small scale, soon developed into the ownership of vessels in which to ship his goods. The Philadelphia Ship Register shows that December 3, 1746, he registered his first vessel, the ship "Hamilton Galley," 100 tons, built Philadelphia, owned by himself and William Hamilton of Londonderry, Ireland, to whom she was consigned. The next ship registered was the "Prince William" of 90 tons, April 13, 1748, owned by himself and Messrs. Gamble and William Hamilton, Londonderry. The ship "Culloden," 100 tons, followed November 21, 1750, owned by Conyngham & Gardner and the consignees, Alexander and Francis Knox, Londonderry; the "Isabella," 60 tons, 1750-1, by C. & G.; the "Alexander," 70 tons, 1752, owned by himself and Alex. Knox, Londonderry; the "Hayfield," 100 tons, owned mainly by himself and Mr. J. M. Nesbitt, in 1756; the "Hannah," 55 tons, in 1759, owned by "Conyngham & Nesbitt;"

the brigantine "Polly," a prize taken by the Privateer, "Polly's Revenge," sailed under the ownership of Mr. C. and Mr. Nesbitt, 1760; the "New Culloden," 150 tons, owned by C. & N. and John and Robert Knox of Londonderry, Dec. 14, 1761; the brig "Hayfield," 80 tons, and the ship "Rainbow," 100 tons, both owned mainly by Messrs. Conyngham & Nesbitt; and finally the ship "Hayfield," 80 tons, and the ship "John and Mary," 100 tons, registered October, 1765. These vessels, all but two built in Philadelphia, formed a part of the shipping fleet of the house from 1746 to 1766, when Mr. C. sailed in the "Hayfield" for Ireland. The "Charming Peggy," which, in 1775, Captain Gustavus Conyngham commanded, and in which Mr. D. H. Conyngham sailed to Ireland, was doubtless the Privateer of that name commissioned as a Letter of Marque December 5, 1758.

The Philadelphia "Ship Registers," 1726-1776, published in Penn. Arch., 2d S., II. 331-371, and Penna. Mag. Hist., XXII. *et seq.*, do not appear to give all the vessels owned by Philadelphia shippers, nor all the Privateers and Letters of Marque that were sent out by them during the wars of that period. The Council of Safety, November 13, 1776, granted a commission to Thomas Bell, commander of the ship "Speedwell," navigated by 25 men, 10 carriage guns, owned by John Maxwell Nesbitt & Co. Mr. Conyngham, in the following pages, mentions several vessels and "Letters of Marque of from 4 to 30 guns, as sent out by the firm;" but the only vessels owned by them and sailed as privateers, the names of which have been preserved, were the "Speedwell," the "Charming Peggy," the "Revenge," the "Nesbitt," the "Shillalah," and the "Renette," all of which are noted in the Reminiscences.

In 1761 Mr. Conyngham and other merchants in Philadelphia appealed to Governor Hamilton for the erection of piers in some suitable place in the Delaware River to protect their vessels from ice during the winter. The Governor

sent a special message to the Provincial Council, February 25, 1761, strongly urging prompt action in the matter, and proposing appropriating to the purpose the money to be secured by the sale of the Provincial Ship of war. An act was passed March 14, 1761, and enlarged February 17, 1762, in accordance with the Governor's message. (Stat. at Large, VI. 74, 176; Col. Rec., VIII. 574.)

Mr. Conyngham was progressive in his ideas, fond of the beautiful, and stimulated others to improvement by adorning his own property. His home was at No. 96 Front street, between Walnut and Spruce, and his shipping house No. 94, adjoining. Here the family lived while in the city until 1802. Watson states that "there was once a range of beautiful sloping gardens declining from Front street houses into Dock Creek, so as to be seen by passengers along the west side of Dock street. They belonged to Steadman, Conyngham and others. They were seen by T. Matlack and such aged persons. Conyngham's garden, as it existed in 1746 in the ownership of Redmond Conyngham, Esq., was peculiarly beautiful; it had stone steps, descending into the Dock Creek, to which was chained a pleasure boat always ready for excursions and fishing parties.⁵ The mansion was the same now [1842] No. 96 South Front street." (I, 494.) Mr. Conyngham was a signer of the Non-Importation Agreement, prepared and signed October 25, 1765, as a protest against the Stamp Act by the Philadelphia merchants.

Mr. Conyngham was in religion a Churchman, his family

5. "The land about Dock street at the Draw Bridge was originally a swamp, and was intended to be granted to the city, on the 25th of October, 1701, with liberty to dig docks and make harbors there. Before that time, through inadvertence, it had been patented to John Marsh. John Penn afterwards, about 1758, to his enduring credit, purchased it from Marsh and presented it to the city, as was intended by the charter." (T. Ward.) In his Reminiscences Mr. C. mentions having passed up the Dock to above Third street, and having unloaded goods from flat boats in Second street. For the account of the filling up of Dock Creek and the opening of Dock street see Westcott, 433, 2147-8.

having been for over a century members, among them clergymen, of the Established Church of Ireland, Protestant Episcopal. When he removed to Philadelphia, having been confirmed in the Church in Letterkenny, he attached himself to Christ Church, where he was elected for twelve years, 1754-1766, a Vestryman, and from Easter, 1754, to Easter, 1759, a Warden of the Church, and here his eldest son received baptism. In 1751 he was one of the subscribers for "the building of the steeple and providing bells for the Church." A lottery was held in 1752 to secure money for the purpose, and the bells were hung in 1754. In that year he, with other members of Christ Church, presented to the Proprietaries a petition stating that the members of the Church of England had grown so numerous in Philadelphia that Christ Church could not seat more than one-half of them, and praying for the grant of a lot on Third street for another church and yard for that purpose. The grant was promptly made, and in 1758 the Vestry of Christ Church unanimously agreed to erect the new church by subscriptions. Mr. Conyngham was appointed, with six others, a committee to receive and care for the funds, and to prepare a plan and an estimate for the building. He was also one of the committee to supervise the work.

In 1759 he and Evan Morgan signed as Wardens the petition to the Bishop of London for the induction of Rev. Jacob Duché, Jr., as Assistant Minister of the Church. In 1761, as Vestryman, he participated in the opening of St. Peter's Church, of which he was also named a Vestryman in the Charter of the "United Churches of Christ Church and St. Peter's Church," 1765.

In person Mr. Conyngham was of medium height, but stout, courtly in manner and active in movement. He enjoyed the social pleasures of the day, as his name appears in a list of subscribers for the first Assembly held in Philadelphia, 1748 (Shippen Papers 7). Watson states (I. 211):

"It may illustrate the uses of street porches to say that in 1762-3 sundry gentlemen, and especially the *officers*, took the name of *Lunarians*, because of their walking the streets of moonlight evenings, and stopping to talk socially with the families sitting in their porches. I have seen a letter of July, 1763, by Redmond Conyngham, Esq., of Philadelphia, to Col. James Burd, then at Juniata Fort, wherein he says: 'The Lunarians met in the evening at the corner of Walnut and Water streets, most of the officers and their wives were present. We drank your health, and experienced the want of your many Indian anecdotes.'"

In a letter to James Burd of July 1, 1755, Mr. C. writes: "Yesterday your Brothers and Sisters of the Luna Club assembled at the Terry and drank your Health, we shou'd be mighty glad to see you once more among us." Thus the Luna Club had its origin nearly ten years before the date given by Mr. Watson.

In 1756 he contributed £32 to the Pennsylvania Hospital, and in 1763 was a subscriber to the Mount Regale Fishing Company, being No. 5 on the list. He was also in 1763 a member of the Fishing Company of Fort St. Davids. These were among the social clubs of that time, comprising the *élite* of the city.

Mr. Conyngham died possessed of a large landed estate both in Ireland and Pennsylvania, entailed on his son David Hayfield, with reversion, should the law of attainder debar the latter, to his grandson David Ross, on assuming the Conyngham name. David Ross died before the grandfather. The attainder was removed through the influence of Lord Plunket, and the estate was enjoyed by D. H. Conyngham until the entail was broken by him. His will names among others the Irish estates of the Ballyboes of Scott Glencairn and Windy Hall, Auchallatty, Gortnabrade, Largyreagh, Derry Casson, Dragh, Bar of Downing, O'Hanlon's Manor, and many houses in Letterkenny.

Mr. Conyngham and five sons and seven daughters.

DAVID HAYFIELD CONYNGHAM, eldest son of Mr. Redmond Conyngham, and the author of these Reminiscences, was born, Philadelphia, March 21, 1750; baptized in Christ Church in that city by Rev. Robert Jenny, LL. D., Rector, Monday, April 23, 1751. Sponsors,⁶ Mr. Matthias Hayfield and Dr. John Kearsley, Jr. He died, Philadelphia, March 3, 1834, eighteen days before he would have completed his 84th year, and was buried in Christ Church yard, corner of 5th and Arch streets, March 5, 1834. He was married by Rev. William Smith, D. D., Whitemarsh, Pa., December 4, 1779, to Mary West, b. —; d. Philadelphia, August 27, 1820, daughter of William West,⁷ a prominent merchant of Philadelphia, and his wife Mary Hodge, daughter of William Hodge, Jr.,⁸ and his wife Eleanor Wormley.

Mr. Conyngham received his early education in the University of Pennsylvania Academy, where he was entered in the Latin School 1757, and studied until May, 1766, when he sailed with his father in the ship "Hayfield" for Ireland, where he spent two years at Trinity College, Dublin, under

6. MR. MATTHIAS HAYFIELD, probably a friend of Mr. Conyngham in Ireland, as his name cannot be found in any connexion with America. He was a sponser by proxy. He is named in the Family Bible and Christ Church Records without residence.

DR. JOHN KEARSLEY, JR., nephew of Dr. John Kearsley, the eminent physician and the architect of Christ Church, was a loyalist, banished to Carlisle 1775, where he died. (Sabine's Loyalists, I. 597; Westcott, 301; Watson, II. 388; Graydon.) Mr. Conyngham records having rescued him from the mob.

7. WILLIAM WEST of Ireland had—1. Francis West, Justice of Cumberland Co., Pa., July 13, 1757, who had issue; 2. William West, *supra*; 3. Ann West, b. 1733, m. Hermanns Alricks, Justice of Cumberland Co., 1749-1770, &c. (Egle's Pa. Gens. 15.)

8. WILLIAM HODGE of Ireland, who died January 4, 1723, and Margaret, his wife, who died October 15, 1730, had three sons, who came to Philadelphia shortly after their mother's death, about 1731. 1. William, Jr., who married Mary West, *supra*; 2. Andrew, Sr.; 3. Hugh, whose widow Hannah was recognized in all the city as a "Mother in Israel," and who left his estate to Princeton College after the death of his widow.

Andrew Hodge, Sr., had, among 15 children, Captain William Hodge, Jr., one of the U. S. Agents in France, 1776-1779, in connexion with the Conynghams, and of *whom see later*, Captain Andrew Hodge, Jr., Pa. Line, 1776, and Dr. Hugh Hodge, Surgeon 3d Pa. Batt., 1776, the father of that eminent theologian, Charles Hodge, D.D., LL. D., of Princeton, whose sons Alexander A. Hodge, D. D., and Francis B. Hodge, D. D., were both for years pastors First Presbyterian Church Wilkes-Barre, Pa., and Vice Presidents of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. (*v.* Family History and Reminiscences; Hugh L. Hodge, M. D., LL. D., 1903.)

the guardianship of his kinsman, Capt. John Conyngham, returning April, 1768, to Philadelphia to begin his apprenticeship in the shipping house of Conyngham & Nesbitt. His time expiring in 1772, he sailed for Europe, probably as a Secret Agent of the United States to visit France, Portugal and Great Britain, returning in 1774, "having," as he says in his Reminiscences, "added in his humble capacity to the character of America."

Finding then that separation from the mother country was imminent, he early decided to take the part of America, and joining the Volunteers in the company of Captain John Cadwallader, served as a soldier. This was the command organized by Captain Cadwallader in 1774, after the passage of the Boston Port Bill, and called "The Greens," the first company of militia in the State.⁹

In 1775 he became a member of the firm of Conyngham, Nesbitt & Co. The foreign business of the house in that year required his presence once more in Europe. He sailed September 10, 1775, in the brig "Charming Peggy," owned by the firm, with Jonathan Nesbitt as supercargo, and Captain Gustavus Conyngham as master; probably the vessel of that name commissioned as a Letter of Marque December 5, 1778. (Pa. Mag. XXVI. 399.) The vessel was laden with flaxseed, and was to return with powder and other needful things for the Colony. Having sold his cargo, he left the "Charming Peggy," whose capture and later escape is narrated by Captain Conyngham in his Narrative. (Pa. Mag. Hist. XXII. 486.) Mr. Conyngham then proceeded

9. "The Quakers went so far," says Mr. Graydon in his Memoirs, 123, "as to form a company of light infantry under the command of Mr. Copperthwaite, which was called 'The Quaker Blues,' and instituted in a spirit of competition with 'The Greens,' or, as they were sneeringly styled, 'The Silk Stocking Company,' commanded by Mr. John Cadwallader, and which having early associated had already acquired celebrity. The command of this company, consisting of the flower of the city, was too fine a feather in the cap of its leader to be passed by unenvied. It was therefore branded as an aristocratic assemblage. * * * * To this association I belonged. There were about 70 of us." Watson says there was a hill on Second street in the rear of the Loxley house, now (1857) Girard's houses, where the Greens used to drill. 1, 412.

to Paris and remained there until 1777, becoming an important, but secret, factor in the services of his cousin, Capt. Gustavus, whose second commission he obtained from Franklin. At an outlay of \$10,000 he assisted in fitting out the "Revenge," of which Captain Gustavus took command.¹⁰ "The French Government, receiving information of the fitting out of the "Revenge," demanded sureties, and Andrew Hodge [William Hodge, Jr.] and David H. Conyngham became responsible for the peaceable conduct of the vessel. When Conyngham entered upon his privateering voyage, Hodge was thrown in the Bastile, and D. H. Conyngham, by the mangement of his father's great friend, Dr. Franklin, was sent off with despatches, and thus escaped the Bastile." (Redmond Conyngham in Hazard's Reg., V. 402; also *infra*.)

10. CAPTAIN GUSTAVUS CONYNGHAM, U. S. N., 1744-1819. So much has already been published about this gallant Naval officer that an extended notice of him is not needed here. Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania, 1830 (V. 400, 401, 415; VI. 28, 36-38, 55-50) contains many interesting incidents and thrilling experiences in his career from his own pen and that of his cousin, Redmond Conyngham, Esq., of Lancaster, Pa. His diary, 1777-1779, appears in the Pa. Mag. Hist., XXII. 479-488. Mr. James Barnes in his work, "With the Flag in the Channel, or the Adventures of Capt. Gustavus Conyngham," 1902, and in "The Tragedy of the Lost Commission," Outlook, '1803, pp. 71-83, and Mr. Charles Henry Jones, Philadelphia, in his admirable sketch, "Captain Gustavus Conyngham," published 1903 under the auspices of the Pa. S. of R., have given much material for an extended biography, and yet the published history of the man is incomplete. Rev. Edward Everett Hale, in his "Franklin in France," I. 342. *et seq.*, and the Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution, also give more data. Some years ago Mr. Henry Phillips, Jr., Sec. Am. Philosoph. Soc., Philadelphia, wrote me requesting the consent of the family to his preparing a sketch of his Life, as he possessed his Diary. Mr. Phillips died without completing his sketch, and the Diary passed into the hands of Charles Henry Hart, Esq., who has since declined to dispose of it to the family. In view of these facts this note will be confined to points of the history of Capt. Conyngham not yet referred to in other accounts.

Captain Gustavus Conyngham was the son of Gustavus of Largyreagh, Gent., whose wife was a daughter of Gabriel Conyngham, hence the nephew of Capt. David Conyngham of Letterkenny, who was the grandfather of the author of these Reminiscences. By the will of his uncle Alexander of Largyreagh, Gustavus was possessed of the lands of Dragh and Bar of Downing, which he sold to his cousin Redmond C. of Philadelphia, who names them in his will. He was born, Ireland, 1744; died, Philadelphia, November 27, 1819, aged 76, and with his wife was buried in St. Peter's Churchyard, Philadelphia. He was married, Christ Church, by Rev. Richard Peters, October 23, 1773, to Ann Hockley, born January, 1757, died February 25, 1811, aged 54 years, 2 months.

He was sent to Philadelphia in 1763 by his uncle Rev. William Conyngham of Letterkenny to the care of his nephew, Redmond Conyngham, as an apprentice.

From Paris he went to Bordeaux, purchased goods to be sent home, via Martinique, and medical stores for General Washington. In 1779 he returned home by way of the West Indies, and had his second shipwreck described in his *Reminiscences*.

Mr. Conyngham was elected a member of the First Troop of Philadelphia City Cavalry March, 1777. He served in the campaigns of September, 1779; at Somerset, New Jersey, June, 1780; in January, 1781, during the revolt of the Pennsylvania troops, and in the Whiskey Insurrection of Pennsylvania, 1794. In the defence of Fort Wilson he participated actively. During the revolt of the Pennsylvania troops General Wayne detached him with two others to watch the actions of the British sloop of war "Vulture," near Perth Amboy, and their troops on Staten Island. In 1794 he was promoted 3d Sergeant of the Troop, in 1796 2d Sergeant, and June 19, 1798, was made an Honorary Member. As he narrates in his *Reminiscen-*

"Mr. Conyngham thought that nature, or rather his natural genius, pointed out the sea as the element on which he was to live, and therefore placed him in a vessel of his own under the command of Capt. Henderson, Master." Probably the "Charming Peggy" of 50 tons, Robert Henderson, master, registered December 21, 1763, in the Antigua trade. With this ship he remained, learning the business of navigation, until Henderson's death, when he was promoted to the command of the ship "Molly." He remained in the same occupation until the Revolutionary War, when, September 10, 1775, he was sent to Ireland on the "Charming Peggy," with Jonathan Nesbitt as supercargo, and D. H. Conyngham as representing the house of Conyngham & Nesbitt. The rest of his remarkable history is told in the publications referred to *supra*.

In 1783 Captain Conyngham made application to Congress for a renewal of his commission in the regular Navy, with the following result:

"On the report of a Committee consisting of Mr. Lee, Mr. Williamson and Mr. Ellery, to whom was referred a memorial from Gustavus Conyngham, praying for the renewal of a commission of captain in the navy of the United States received from the commissioners in Paris in 1777 and left by him, or to be reinstated in his former situation. Resolved, That the prayer of the said memorialist cannot be granted, such commissions being intended for temporary expeditions only, and not to give rank in the navy." (Journals of Congress, 1784, p. 181.)

After the War Captain Conyngham returned to his occupation as a Sea Captain, residing until his death at 63 Lombard street, Philadelphia.

In 1812 he was a member of the Common Council of Philadelphia, and one of three members appointed to aid in securing a loan of \$30,000 from the citizens to be used in defence of the city. (Vide note 19; also notes on William Hodge, Jr., and Jonathan Nesbitt, *infra*.)

ces, he declined the appointment of Aid-de-Camp to General Stewart, and in 1794 to General Hand.

Mr. Conyngham was elected a member of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick 1775. In 1790 he was elected a Trustee of the College of Philadelphia, and in 1791 a Trustee of the University of Pennsylvania, holding the office until his resignation in 1813. He was also a member of the Hibernia Fire Company.

The business interests of Conyngham, Nesbitt & Co. had led Mr. Conyngham to make a number of visits to Great Britain and the Continent, and to the West Indies, 1775-1783. Early in the year 1807 the affairs of his cousins, the shipping firm of Francis and John West, made it necessary that he should visit Kentucky, and later his own and the landed interest of his firm drew him to Luzerne County.

Mr. David H. Conyngham lived, until 1766, in the house occupied by his father, at No. 96 Front street, Conyngham and Nesbitt occupying No. 94 adjoining. In 1783 he lived at "Woodford," on the Ridge Road, four miles from his place of business. It was at his house at "Woodford" that Mr. and Mrs. Robert Morris took refuge in June, 1783, when Congress hastily adjourned to Princeton on account of the threatened riot of the disbanded Pennsylvania militia. (v. Reminiscences.) A distance of four miles from Front street would place "Woodford" in Fairmount Park. Some years later he erected the large double stone house on the "Old Germantown Road," now Germantown Avenue, or Main Street, No. 4639, opposite the old Brinhurst House, and named it "Clermonte," after one of his ancestral Irish places. Mr. Ward states that William Forbes was the "builder" of this dwelling. Here Mr. Conyngham lived until his death as his summer house, and here he dispensed a most generous hospitality; his shipping house, and town residence, No. 109 South Fourth street, where he lived 1826, were also friendly resorts for strangers from Ireland

and France. "In 1844 the family of the late Isaiah Hacker purchased 'Clermonte' and have occupied it ever since." Mr. Conyngham was a contributor to the Pennsylvania Hospital, 1766. In his advancing years, realizing the value of his varied experiences in foreign and home travel to the members of his family, he began to prepare his very interesting Reminiscences covering a period of nearly 80 years of the early history of the United States. Much of this was doubtless written by himself, as will appear in the foot-note on the capture and execution of the two spies in 1781, which is there given as he personally wrote it to illustrate his style of narrative. But in his 83d year he brought together what he had prepared, and dictating the facts to an amanuensis, largely destroyed his original drafts. The manuscript of the amanuensis becoming much worn by use, was copied for the family, and having no further use for it as a manuscript, it was destroyed.

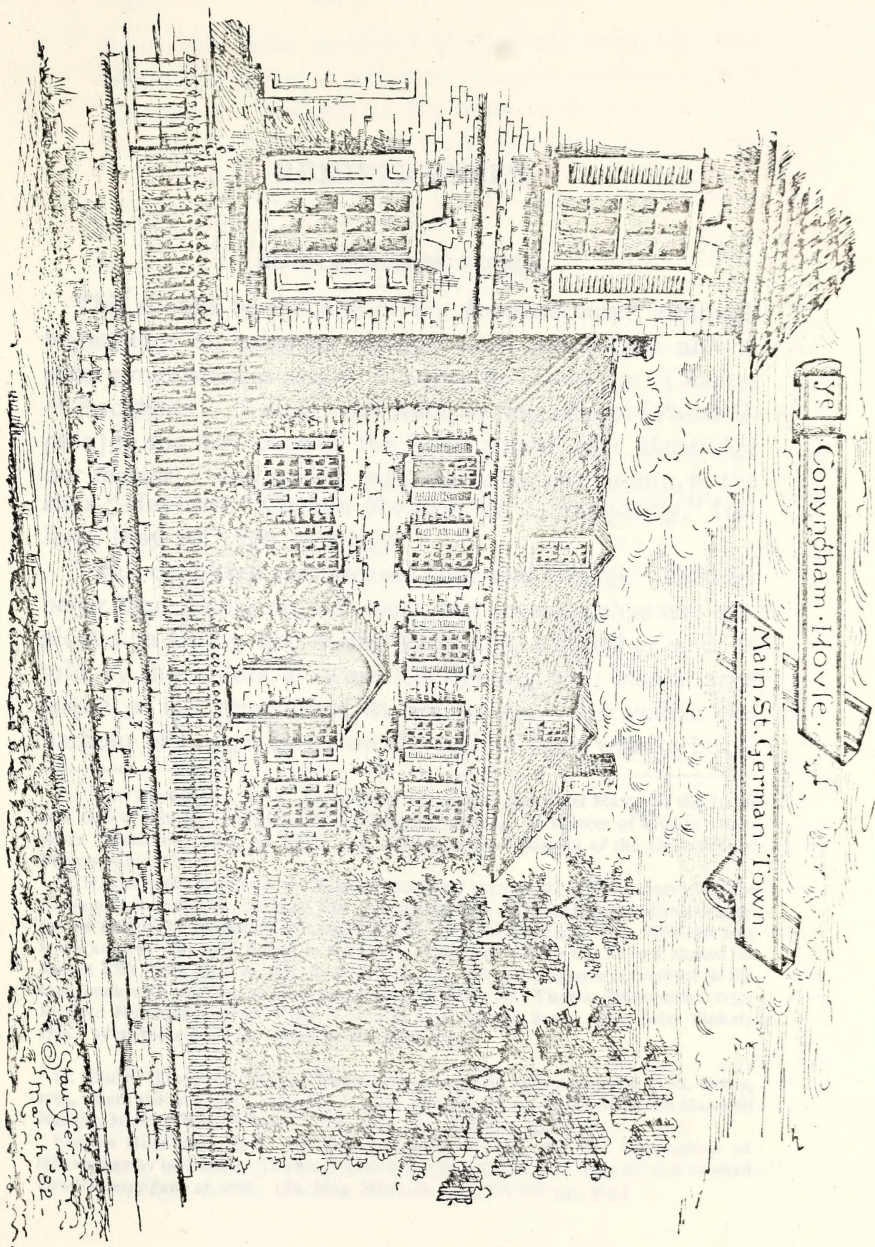
The Reminiscences are published now for the first time. As they were written at an advanced age and with no attempt at chronological exactness or arrangement, the editor has made but little effort to change their sequence. In the copy prepared by the amanuensis they begin with the author's visit to Kentucky, 1807, which is here placed at the end, and where it is possible the exact date of an incident has been inserted.

Mr. Conyngham had five sons and five daughters.

He was the father of Hon. Redmond Conyngham of Lancaster, Pa., and of Hon. John Nesbitt Conyngham, LL. D., the eminent President Judge of Luzerne county from 1839 to 1870, a distinguished and beloved citizen of Wilkes-Barre, Pa., and President of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, of which Society his son, Col. John Butler Conyngham, U. S. V., was one of the Founders, 1858.

18
Coryndham House.

Main St. German Town.



Sturges
March 82

REMINISCENCES.

REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD.

This should be the first of my Reminiscences, although began after my entering my 83d year, and if I am able to state circumstances aright, it might be called the "Chapter of Accidents." I shall start from leaving school [Philadelphia] in the first class of the Latin School (Mr. Beveridge our master),¹¹ and sailing with my father and family, in the ship "Hayfield," Captain Mackey, for Londonderry,¹² Ireland, May 26, 1766, as a boy.

I was delighted and pleased with our voyage. Whales being then plenty on our coast, saw several schooners employed in killing and saving them, also a thrasher, and, as told by the sailors, a sword-fish fighting one; also a large island of ice, remembers its appearance. Arrived in the harbour of Lough Foyle on the 24th of June, when a beau-

11. JOHN BEVERIDGE, M. A., Professor of Languages and Chief Master in the Latin and Greek Schools, Philadelphia Academy, 1751-1767. (v. notices of him in Graydon's "Memoirs," 1846, pp. 35-59, and Montgomery's "History of the University of Pennsylvania.")

D. H. Conyngham entered the Philada. Academy 1757, aged 7. His younger brother Alexander entered 1760, but died Nov. 2, 1763, aged 10. The "History" also gives, p. 535, as entered by Redmond Conyngham 1760, "Robert Conyngham." Who this was is not known. The only Robert in the family connexion was his son Robert, named for Robert Ellis, born April 20, 1761, died Oct. 25, 1763. Mr. Conyngham is credited in the same book with entering as students, Samuel Brown, 1758; Thomas Dunscombe, 1757; Richard Hutchinson, 1758; Francis Moore, 1754; Joseph Scull, 1765; John Tinker, 1759. Were these protégés whom he was educating?

12. "SHIP 'HAYFIELD,' Master William Mackey, of 80 tons, registered Phila. Oct. 9, 1765, where she was built, owned by Messrs. Redmond Conyngham and John Maxwell Nesbitt, Merchants of Philada." (Pa. Mag. Hist. XXVII. 353, 365.)

Francis Hopkinson, Esq., the eminent patriot, accompanied Mr. Conyngham on this voyage by invitation. The ship sailed from New Castle, Del., May 26, and reached Londonderry June 27, 1766. (Pa. Mag. Hist., II. 316; XXVII. 353, 365.)

tiful sight from bonfires¹³ kindled on every hill made the shore delightful. Landed all in safety and lodged with Mr. Gamble.¹⁴ Remembers the time with pleasure; and his leaving his father's house on returning to America with re-

13. BONFIRES.—Francis Hopkinson, Esq., who sailed with Mr. Conyngham, wrote of this to his mother, July 2, 1766 :

"It was remarkable that the night we left New Castle the Town was illuminated on the joyful occasion of the Stamp Act's being repealed, and the first night we entered our Harbour in Ireland was Midsummer Night, at which time it is a never failing custom among the Irish to illuminate their whole country with large fires kindled here and there among the mountains. A few days after our arrival Mrs. Conyngham went to Letterkenny, a little village about 15 miles from Derry, where Mr. Conyngham's mother lives and where his Estate lies." (Pa. Mag. Hist., II. 317.)

Some years ago the late Mr. Townsend Ward wrote me of this custom thus : "The Balefires, as they are called, are of a most ancient origin, indeed so remote as once to have been in honour of the God Baal, or Beelzebub, as he is sometimes called. They formed, it is thought, a part of the ceremonies of the worship practised in their groves by the Druids, who had swept across Asia and Europe, and who at one time were so potential in the British Islands. The Second Book of Kings, Chap. XXI., says Manasseh 'reared up altars for Baal, and made a grove, * * * and made his son pass through the fire.' Eighteen hundred years ago Pliny, in his Natural History, says : 'Britain at this day celebrates the magic rites with so many similar ceremonies, that you might suppose them to have been given to them by the Persians.'"

"A writer in the Gentleman's Mag., February, 1795, relates that he was told, as to the ceremonies observed on the occasion of the summer solstice, "That we should see at midnight the most singular sight in Ireland, which was *the lighting of fires* in honour of the sun. Accordingly, exactly at midnight, the fires began to appear; and taking the advantage of going up to the leads of the house, which had a widely extended view, I saw on a radius of thirty miles, all around, the fires burning on every eminence which the country afforded. I had a farther satisfaction in learning, from undoubted authority, that the people *danced round the fires*, and at the close went through these fires, and made their sons and daughters, together with their cattle, pass the fire; and the whole was conducted with religious solemnity." In Philadelphia, I have seen, when a youth, such fires built in the streets by the boys, who, in turn, would jump through them, and I am told the custom still continues, thus there is preserved here a lingering trace of the practices connected with an ancient faith. The name of the God Baal is preserved wherever the prefix Bal or Bel is found, as in Bealtine, the feast of May-day, Baltimore, Belfast, Balmoral, Baltinglass, the Baltic, and many other names."

A fetter from Tentore, Balla Colla, Queens Co., Ireland, March 8, 1882, describes the custom now in vogue :

"I am told by an excellent authority that they still make bonfires on St. John's Eve, the 24th of June, and collect around them in great numbers to dance and amuse themselves. He says he never saw them pass through the fires or cause their cattle to do so, but that is not saying they would not do it if the police were not always there pretending they came for the dancing. The Northern Irish call these fires *bonefires*, and say they were first built to burn the bones of Protestant martyrs, but when I cannot find out. These same fires have been used for signals in several rebellions, and consequently have in a measure died out, but they are still very numerous."

14. MR. GAMBLE, at whose house he lodged, was doubtless Mr. Henry Gamble, the consignee of Conyngham, & Nesbitt.

gret and cause. Went up to Newry to sail for America in company with Andrew Stewart,¹⁵ also going out as an apprentice to Mr. Nesbitt;¹⁶ sailed in April, 1768, and went around Ireland, North, seeing the coast, and not getting clear of Achill Head for 10 or 12 days. A severe passage brought us out to the coast of America; and upon "land" being called out, went up to the top gallant yard with Lyons, our boatswain, who said it was five leagues off. Came down and went to dinner, and our Captain ordered Mr. Dobbins, our Mate, to sound, who called out fourteen fathoms.

A pudding being on the table, we stayed to eat it, and on going upon deck, the ship struck the bar at Egg Harbor. We got out the boats and landed on what I think was the Harbor, and Tucker's Beach.¹⁷ Resting the first night under some fishing boats hauled on shore to save us from a severe thunder gust, got up the next day to main land and hired a waggon to Philadelphia. The ship was a real loss to our house, having no insurance. She was called the "Sally,"¹⁸ Moses Rankin, master.

Served my apprenticeship for four years and went to Europe in 1772. (See travels, etc., in another sheet.) Returning as there mentioned, was driven on shore at Cape Henry, which was my second fate or shipwreck. The third was on returning from Ireland in 1812 or 13, in the ship "John Watson," Captain Sanderson, of New York, with seventy passengers on board. Had a fine run to the Gulf

15. ANDREW STEWART, born Ireland; apprentice to Mr. John M. Nesbitt 1768. What subsequently became of him the annotator cannot learn.

16. *v.* Note 3.

17. TUCKER'S BEACH, now Tuckerton, in Little Egg Harbor Bay, Burlington Co., N. J. Tucker's Beach was once a noted seashore resort for Philadelphians before Long Branch was known as such. (Watson's *Annals of Philada.*, II. 463.) This was Mr. Conyngham's first shipwreck.

18. SHIP "SALLY," Not in Register, 1768. Moses Rankin was Capt. of the ship "Minerva," 70 tons, Registered Phila. Nov. 22, 1768. (*Pa. Arch.*, 2d S., II. 651.)

stream, and then baffling winds and weather, and nearing New York Harbor, were all in high spirits in expectation of being on shore next day. We went to our berths, when about one o'clock, it raining and blowing fresh easterly, the watch cried out "Land and Light." Upon sounding, found $17\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms, with broken shells and blue ground, which, remembering what the fishermen told me when on a trip with my boys to Long Branch, I told the Captain we were there, and that he should put about the ship. Before time could be had she struck the beach, and a dreadful scene we had, but kept sail on her, and then cut away main and mizen masts, keeping the foremast with sails to press her on. I never saw a more severe and distressing scene, but cannot enter into all the particulars. We reached shore after daylight and went up to McKnight's. Hiring a waggon, got up with my small baggage, having no goods, and found my family well at Germantown, after hearing from me by express I had sent on before me. Surely I ought to be thankful to God for his mercies while my faculties are spared me.

I recollect [1778-1779] seeing Count D'Estaing when he came out from the American coast with his fleet. Saw seven ships of the Line pass by St. Pierre, Martinique, and go on to Fort Royal, where again I saw them at anchor [about Dec. 11, 1778]. Captain Gustavus Conyngham¹⁹ being then there in the "Revenge"²⁰ Cutter was called upon and in-

19. CAPTAIN GUSTAVUS CONYNGHAM. 2. Note 10.

20. CUTTER "REVENGE."—Some interesting facts relating to the "Revenge" and its last cruise under Conyngham, not heretofore mentioned, but presenting a view of the profit and loss of Privateering in 1779 are revealed in the Official Correspondence about this famous cutter in the Pa. Archives.

Mr. Charles Henry Jones, in his Sketch of Capt. Conyngham, p. 23, notes the fact that Conyngham left European waters in the "Revenge," sailing to Martinique, and thence to Phila., where he arrived in February, 1779. The "Revenge" was owned by the U. S. Congress, J. M. Nesbitt & Co. and Andrew Hodge, Sr., of Phila. The Marine Committee of Congress wished to send her to sea for the Continent. J. M. Nesbitt & Co. wished to use her as a Privateer, and the Executive Council was eager to buy or hire her as a Guarda Costa to act in concert with the "General Greene." The

roduced to Count D'Estaing on board the "Languedoc" of 90 guns, and went out; after looking at the English Fleet under Commodore Barrington,²¹ returned and reported

Council appointed Blair McClennahan to ascertain her value and fitness, reporting promptly and secretly. Owing to these complications Congress, March 12, ordered her to be sold at public sale March 17, 1779. Mr. McClennahan reported her value at £30,000 to £40,000, and Council authorized him to buy her even at £45,000. She was purchased March 17 by J. M. Nesbitt & Co. at a higher figure. On March 31 the Assembly resolved to charter the "Revenge" for a three months' cruise with the "General Greene," and application was made to her owners for terms, &c. Nesbitt & Co. replied April 2 with these propositions:

"Capt. Conyngham to retain command with his own officers, he knowing better than anyone else how to manage such a vessel, and there being no doubt of his bravery. The state to insure the cutter at the price she cost the present owners, to return her in as good condition as they receive her, or to pay all damages; and to pay her owners at the rate of £10,000 per month while in the service."

These were named as the lowest terms, as the house preferred using her on their own private account, this being the best season for cruising. The house proposed to man the cutter by giving the crew three-fourths of all commissioned vessels taken and one-half of Letters of Marque and merchantmen unarmed; advising not to give a larger share of prize money to the crew, as the State's share of such money would more than doubly repay all expenses—the officers and men to have the customary wages, each seaman \$100 in advance, each landsman \$50 or more, to be deducted from wages or prize money, &c. Council accepted these terms April 3d, with minor changes, and preparations were made to seal the contract, but, owing to some misunderstanding, Conyngham sailed away with the "Revenge" by the 15th, and the Council abandoned its purpose to charter. (Pa. Arch. VII. pp. 281, 288, 318, 319.) The "General Greene" cost the State £33,057.11.0. The "Revenge" was captured by the British frigate "Galatea," near New York, and the Captain was thrown into prison, as told in his narrative. (Pa. Mag. His., XXII. 487. *v.* also Note on Capt. William Hodge, Jr., *infra*.)

21. ADMIRAL SAMUEL BARRINGTON, 1729-1800. *v.* Dictionary of National Biog., Stephen's, III. 291, which states Barrington captured St. Lucia Dec. 13, 1778. "On the 14th he had news of D'Estaing's approach, and the enemy's fleet, with a crowd of smaller shipping, was sighted from the neighboring hills. Expecting no enemy from the sea, his ships were in no posture of defence. But during the night he succeeded in forming his little squadron in a close line across the mouth of the bay, the ends supported by a few guns on the hills above, and with transports and store-ships inside. His attitude was firm, but his force was comparatively insignificant; and M. de Suffren, captain of the "Fantesque," strongly urged D'Estaing to come boldly in and anchor close alongside, or on top of the anchor buoys, thus rendering the shore batteries useless, and crushing the English by force of numbers. D'Estaing, however, preferred standing in line of battle, keeping away along the English line, and so passing again out of the bay after a desultory interchange of firing. In the afternoon he repeated the same manœuvre, equally without result. On the 15th he landed the troops to the northward and attempted to storm a hill strongly held, but was once and again repulsed with great slaughter. Then hearing of Admiral Byron's approach with a superior force, he sailed for Martinique." This confirms D. H. Conyngham's statement about Gustavus Conyngham's advice to D'Estaing. Barrington had the "Prince of Wales," 74 guns, 2 frigates, 5 small ships of the line, and 5,000 men. D'Estaing's fleet had 12 ships of the line and 4 frigates.

their situation under St. Lucia, and advised the Admiral to run in and anchor opposite the ships as they lay, and to attack them in that way; this he did not do, and was beaten off.

Captain G. Conyngham captured the brig "Surprise," fitted out off Antigua to take him, and the Pilot boat schooner "Barrington," both of which he brought into St. Pierre [sic], 3d Company also as mounting guard in charge of Major Fell,²² Major Skeene,²³ and other British officers, who arrived from England and were made prisoners. Received afterward civilities from Major Fell when business took me to London, where I paid 8000 guineas for bills drawn by houses in Philadelphia, which drew on me the observation of Lord North, and had to get clear of him by leaving London at 7 o'clock in the morning in post chaise and finding a Packet sailing from Dover at 3 o'clock. Slept at Dessein's Hotel in Paris. Remember the Duchess of Kingston²⁴ passed same afternoon for Dover.

Remembers being one of a party or gala given by Governor Joseph Reed²⁵ at Governor's Island,²⁶ near Fort Mifflin; went down with a party of ladies and gentlemen in a gunboat commanded by Captain Nathan Boys;²⁷ landed at the wharf

22. MAJOR ROBT. EDWARD FELL of H. M. 79th Regt. Foot; was on half pay after the regt. disbanded, 1763; was made Lieut. Col. May 25, 1772. (Graydon, 1846, p. 75.)

23. MAJOR PHILIP K. SKENE, or his son. (*v.* Westcott's History of Philada., p. 300; Lossing's Field Book, I. 74, 137-9; II. 684, &c.; Graydon, 127, 208, 228.)

24. DUTCHESS OF KINGSTON, Caroline, Countess of Kingston, wife of Robert, 2d Earl of Kingston, and daughter of James, 4th Lord Kingston.

25. GOVERNOR JOSEPH REED. (*v.* Life and Correspondence of President Reed, 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1847.)

26. "GOVERNOR'S ISLAND." The place where Fort Mifflin now stands was thus called.

27. CAPTAIN NATHAN BOYS (Boyse, Boyce and sometimes written Nathaniel Boyce), born —; died, Philadelphia, January, 1803; will December 20, 1802—January 7, 1803; wife, Mary Boys, executrix. He was a brother of Elias Boys, merchant, Philadelphia, Warden of the Port 1787, and Member Hibernian Society. Captain Boys was appointed by the Navy Board 1st Lieutenant Pennsylvania Navy; assigned August 29, 1775, to the Provincial Armed Boat "General Washington," built by John Martin; served until made Captain, December 6, 1775, of the Armed Boat "Franklin," built by Man-

and marched up to the barracks with music, and then enjoyed dancing and promenades and a very handsome and agreeable refreshment, such as the times afforded, returning to the city before night; music in all the boats and much life, fun and spirit accompanying us "Republicans", although battle, distress and doubts were our attendants.

Remembers hearing from Mr. Nixon,²⁸ his falling into the narrow passage between the rocks of the Schuylkill in attempting to help a Miss Evans across a board, usually placed to go from rock to rock where now the dam is.

Remembers when in school at Dublin, in Ireland, surprising his fellow scholars and others by jumping off the Breakwater from the light-house to King's end and swimming about to the admiration of all around me. Also the riding of the Franchises,²⁹ or vulgarly called the Fringes, the Lord Mayor and Corporations parading for their char-

uel Eyre, succeeding Captain Nicholas Biddle, who, December 22, 1775, was made Captain by Congress of the ship "Andrew Doria" of 14 guns. Captain Boys served as President of the Court Martial August 5-18, 1778. He was placed in charge of the Galleys and the Forts at Mud Island and Billingsport, February 13, 1781, and was Commander in Chief of the Pennsylvania Galleys 1779-1781, then comprising the "Franklin," "Hancock," "Chatham," "Viper," and "Lion," with 130 rank and file. In August, 1778, after the British evacuated Philadelphia, all the Officers of the Pennsylvania Navy were discharged, except Captain Boys and enough men to man these boats. He was ordered, May 7, 1781, to immediately raise a company of 31 rank and file to act as a garrison to defend the Forts in the Delaware. His services in defending the Delaware appear in the Correspondence of the Navy Board, and justly entitled him to a fuller recognition than he has yet received. He took the oath of allegiance to Pennsylvania June 23, 1777, and to the United States April 1, 1779. When Independence was assured and the rest of the Pennsylvania Navy dismissed, he was discharged from service December 20, 1781, with this action of the Executive Council:

"Ordered that Captain Nathan Boys be discharged from the State service, that the Council are sensible of his merit as an officer, and think it proper to declare their approbation of his conduct during the time he has been in the public service, and to assure him that they discharge him because the service in which he was engaged is at an end, and for no other cause." (Col. Rec. Pa.. XIII. 151.) In 1791 he was one of the "Commissioners of Philadelphia for Lighting, Watching and Paving the streets of the city." He continued to be a City Commissioner until 1798. He was one of the Commissioners "to prevent forestalling in the Philadelphia Markets." (Pa. Arch., 2d S., III. 713.) He was elected 1790 a member of the Hibernian Society.

28. COLONEL JOHN NIXON. (*v. Pa. Mag. Hist.*, I. 188. *Friendly Sons*, 128.)

29. FRANCHISES. (*v. Lord Mayor's Shows*, Walford's *Old and New London*, I. 317-332.)

ter rights. A similar one³⁰ in this city (Philadelphia), July 4, 1788, on adoption of the Constitution, exceeded far the one in Dublin, the writer after the Axe men under Major Pancake,³¹ and the Trumpeter³² of the 1st or "Old³³ City Troop" was in the first file, and through the whole parade until dismissed at Bush hill.³⁴

The battle of Fort Wilson, 1779,³⁵ is never correctly stated. An order was given on the day on which it occurred, October 4, 1779, that the troop of horse should parade at 3 o'clock. Hearing a drum beating, and being in his uniform dress, went up to the corner of Walnut and

30. THE GRAND FEDERAL PROCESSION, July 4, 1788, celebrating the adoption of the Constitution of 1787. (Wescott, I. 447-452.)

31. MAJOR PHILIP PANCAKE, Captain 2d Battalion, 3d Class, Philadelphia Militia, August 2, 1777. Company mustered in, Wilmington, September 3, 1777. (Pa. Arch., 2d S., XIII. 161; XIV. 605, 661; XV. 675.) Major 3d Battalion Philadelphia Militia, Joseph Dean, Lieut. Colonel, 1782. (*id.* 2d S., XIV. 3.) The name is uncommon. Philip Pancake was taxed Westmoreland county, Pa., 1776-1780, and Moyamensing township, Philadelphia, 1774-1779. Captain Pancake was a grocer, Dock Ward, Philadelphia, appraised 1780 at \$13,400. In 1791 Philip Pancake, grocer, lived at 160 South Fourth street, Philadelphia. He also held lands Northumberland county, 400 acres surveyed September 2, 1786, and 400 in Luzerne county, surveyed November, 1794. For account of axemen under Captain Pancake, 1788, see Westcott, I. 448.

32-3. OLD CITY TROOP. *v.* "History First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry, 1774-1874." 4to, pp. 224. Philadelphia, 1874. The names of the Trumpeters of the Troop are seldom given in this book. In 1794 there were two, Michael Waltman and George Spinnenberger. In 1780 the Troop had "Forty-five members and a Trumpeter." The Trumpeter was not a member of the Troop, hence his name is lost to history.

34. BUSH HILL, the residence of Andrew Hamilton, Esq., the eminent lawyer who fearlessly and successfully defended John Peter Zenger, in New York, 1733, thus securing "the first vindication of the liberty of the Press in America." He bought a part of Springettsburg Manor and built thereon, 1740, the elegant mansion which stood here until 1875. It was used as a hospital during the Yellow Fever epidemic 1793. (Watson, II. 479; Westcott, II. 872, 943, 1605; Pa. Mag. Hist., IX. 182.)

35. FORT WILSON.—In 1779 the residence of James Wilson, Esq., a signer of the Declaration of Independence, southwest corner of Third and Walnut streets, Philadelphia, was attacked by a mob. The riot was caused by the scarcity of breadstuff, and the supposed connexion of certain prominent merchants and others with the scarcity. The engraving of Fort Wilson is here given by the courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

For accounts of this riot *v.* Hazard's Register, I. 316; Watson, I. 425, II. 286; Westcott, 401-2; Pa. Mag. Hist., II. 392, V. 475; Pa. Col. Rec., XII; Archives, VII.; Life of President Joseph Reed, II, 149, 153, 423. *v.* also Note 51.

Front streets, and remember well seeing Bill Bonum,³⁶ E. Faulkner³⁷ and Captain Gibbs,³⁸ whom he knew well at the time. They wheeled up Walnut street, and while getting his sword and pistols the firing began, and he mounted and went up to the stables³⁹ in Seventh street, the usual rendezvous or parade; finding no one there, he went round to Governor Reed's⁴⁰ house in Market street, corner of Sixth, and called upon the Governor, whom he saw and spoke with to beg he would turn out, as the lives of several of our most respectable citizens were in danger. Colonel Charles Stewart⁴¹ of the New Jerseys, and in the Commissary line, came up, and hearing of the writer, called on the Governor to appear. Timothy Matlack⁴² also came and said: "You must turn out or the lives of those in the house will be laid on you." He then called his servant to bring his pistols and to order his horses; by this time we were joined by several of our troop, and upon the Governor's mounting, galloped down Market street, passing Major Lenox,⁴³ then a member of the troop, getting on his horse without his coat; and at the old Conestoga Wagon⁴⁴ were some "Continental Horse,"⁴⁵ who called to know if they should join, and were answered, "Yes, come along." Our party in-

36. WILLIAM BONHAM, probably of Mulberry Ward, died, 1782.

37. EPHRAIM FALCONER, Captain 6th Batt. Phila. Militia; of Southwark, 1769-1783, when he died. (Pa. Arch., 3d S. V. 445, 458, 471.)

38. GILBERT GIBBS, Captain 8th Batt. Pa. Associators, Chester Co., the only officer named Gibbs in the Pa. Militia. (*id.* XIV. 75, 104.)

39. JACOB HILTZHEIMER'S Livery Stables, 7th St. between Market and Chestnut Sts. (Watson, III. 227. Hiltzheimer's Diary, Pa. Mag. Hist., XVI. 93, 160, 412.)

40. REED. (*v.* Note 25.)

41. COLONEL CHARLES STEWART of N. J. (*v.* Appleton's Cyc. Am. Biog., V. 683.)

42. TIMOTHY MATLACK. ("Simpson's Lives of Eminent Philadelphians," 685.)

43. MAJOR DAVID LENOX. *v.* Note 54.

44. "CONESTOGA WAGON," a tavern then on Market St. above 4th St., kept, 1791, by Samuel Nichols.

45. The CAVALRY of the Continental Line.

creased as we went down Third street, and arriving at the corner, firing was pretty quick, both from and to the house. Riding up to the front door in Third street, Ross,⁴⁶ a blacksmith with a wooden leg, was just raising a sledge hammer to break the door open, when the writer drew his pistol and told him if he struck another stroke he would shoot him; and then came up old Alderman Samuel Mifflin⁴⁷ and seized him by the arm and told him to join the Governor, then turning into Walnut street, but the door opening from the inside, I saw the body of Lieutenant Campbell⁴⁸ falling on the stairs, being shot through the cellar window, as told at that moment. Joining Governor Reed in Walnut street, and the firing continuing both at and from the house, a black boy was shot at the pump before Bishop White's house, 89 Walnut street. Governor Reed ordered Isaac Coxe⁴⁹ and the writer to stay by his side, and upon the coming up of the "Continental Horse" before mentioned, "asking under what orders do you act," our Lieutenant Budden⁵⁰ desired

46. ROSS.—Conyngham wrote as an eyewitness in personal conflict with Ross, whom he identified by his wooden leg. Westcott says (I, 402): "An unsuccessful attempt was made to force the door of the house, but a rioter named Huler procured a sledgehammer from a blacksmith shop on Pearl street and used it with such effect that the door gave way, and Huler, accompanied by a German who had aided in procuring the hammer, rushed in," &c. Huler's success may have followed the failure of Ross. Mr. John Jordan, Jr., wrote me that this was "Hugh Ross," Blacksmith, of Carter's Alley, 1785.

47. CAPTAIN SAMUEL MIFFLIN. (*v.* "Memoranda relating to the Mifflin Family," I. H. Merrill, 1890, pp. 44-45. Keith's Provincial Council of Pa., 362-370.)

48. LIEUTENANT ROBERT CAMPBELL, "2d Lieutenant, 2d Battalion, Miles' Riflemen, March 19, 1776; 1st Lieutenant, 2d Canadian (Hazen's) Regiment, April 8, 1777; wounded and taken prisoner, Staten Island, August 22, 1777; rejoined regiment Aug. 5, 1778; transferred to Invalid Regiment January 1, 1778; killed October 4, 1779, where not stated." (Heitman's Register, 114.)

49. ISAAC COX, Paymaster, Colonel Samuel Miles' Pennsylvania Riflemen, September 18, 1776; resigned October 16, 1776; elected member Philadelphia City Troop March, 1777; served in New Jersey Campaigns 1779, 1780, 1781; Honorary Member May 4, 1790; Member Gloucester Fox Hunting Club May 21, 1778.

50. LIEUTENANT JAMES BUDDEN, born —; died January 7, 1783; Member City Troop November 17, 1774; "made 2d Lieutenant December, 1776, in consequence of having distinguished himself in the battles of Princeton and Trenton, where a small detachment of the Troop vanquished and took prisoner a party of the enemy greatly superior

me to ask the Governor, who readily said, "Charge all armed men"; upon which they attacked and assisted to route the mob. Seeing them give way, the party in the house came out and formed at the corner of Third and Walnut streets.

Sam Morris was shot in the arm, standing on the porch or steps of Allen McClane's house,⁵ Walnut street. Robert Morris, J. Benzett, the two Nicholls, Col. Burd of Reading, McCulloch and the rest of the party⁵¹ from the house

in number." (Pa. Mag. Hist., XV. 225.) They captured eleven Light Dragoons dismounted and with muskets in hand. Budden served in every campaign in which the Troop acted from 1774 to 1783. Honorary Member City Troop May 1, 1787.

51. FORT WILSON.—No complete list of the prominent gentlemen who were present inside Fort Wilson during the attack of the mob, October 4, 1779, has been found. From these Reminiscences and all the other accounts of the riot, with the record from official documents of those who presented themselves to the Executive Council in obedience to the proclamation of President Reed, October 6, a list of thirty-two has been made, and will doubtless be found correct.

COLONEL MARK BIRD. (*v.* Berks County in the Revolution, 212.)

PAUL BECK, JR. (*v.* Simpson's Lives of Eminent Philadelphians, 37-48.)

JOHN BENEZET. Taxed, Mulberry Ward, Philadelphia, 1769-1774; Dock Ward, 1779-1780; Member American Society Promotion Useful Knowledge 1769; Member Provincial Council January 23, 1775; Member Philadelphia Committee Correspondence August 16, 1775. (Pa. Arch., 2d S., III. 676; Force's Arch., III. 145.) Did he marry, Christ's Church, October 26, 1775, Hannah Bingham? James Allen, in his Diary, July 30, 1777, says: "My late neighbor in the Country, Mr. John Benzett, is just arrived here [Northampton county;] he is now a Commissioner of Claims and a staunch Whig." He was dead 1781. Mr. Benzett was probably the one of his name who was lost at sea in the privateer "Shillelah" December, 1780, of which *see later*.

WILLIAM BELL, Merchant, 217 High street. (*v.* History Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, 348.)

LIEUTENANT ROBERT CAMPBELL. (*v.* Note 48.)

GEORGE CAMPBELL. (*v.* Friendly Sons 103, Simpson 174.)

GEORGE CLYMER. (*v.* Pa. Mag. Hist., IX. 354; Nat. Cyc. Am. Biog., III. 272, &c.)

DANIEL C. CLYMER. (*v.* Pa. Mag. Hist., IX. 354.)

LIEUTENANT STEPHEN CHAMBERS. (*v.* Pa. Mag. Hist., XI. 69-70.)

CAPTAIN SHARP DELANEY. (*v.* Friendly Sons, 108.)

MAJOR DAVID SOLEBURY FRANKS. Aid to Arnold, May, 1778—September 25, 1780. Continued, as Major and Aide de Camp, Continental Army, until retired January 1, 1783. (Heitman, 182.)

COLONEL — GRESSSELL, U. S. A. There is no such name in the Army Lists.

"Colonel Gressell of the Continental Army, who was in the House of James Wilson, Esq., on the fourth of October instant at the time of the riot there, attended, and it appearing that he had used his influence to prevent Bloodshed, and has no intention of taking part on either side, He was dismissed, with a request that he will attend as an evidence, if he shall be called upon." (Record of the Supreme Exec. Council, Pa. Col. Rec., XII. 145.)

paraded through the streets, and were insulted everywhere, especially about Vine street. They stopped a piece of cannon from the Laboratory⁵² in Third street, which the

COLONEL WILLIAM GRAYSON. (*v.* Hist. Maryland Line, Seventy-Six Society, p. 99-108.)

THOMAS LAWRENCE.

JOHN LAWRENCE, JR.

STAATS LAWRENCE, minor.

} (*v.* Keith's Provincial Councilors, 430-456.)

CAPTAIN ALLEN McLANE. (*v.* Day's Hist. Coll. Pa., 501; Scharff's Hist. Delaware, 208; Life and Correspondence of President Reed, II. 150-152; Watson, 321.)

MATTHEW MCCONNELL. (*v.* Friendly Sons, 473.)

— McCulloch, named by D. H. Conyngham; possibly error of Amianuensis for McConnell, or Captain John McCulloch; Pa. Line.

GENERAL THOMAS' MIFFLIN. (*v.* Keith, 362-379; Mifflin Family, 18-23.)

JOHN FISHBOURNE MIFFLIN. (*v.* Keith, 363; Mifflin, 56.)

ROBERT MORRIS. (*v.* Pa. Mag. Hist., I. 333; Simpson, 102; Nat. Cyc. Am. Biog., II. 410, &c. Oberholtzer's "Robert Morris," &c., 1903.)

SAMUEL MORRIS. (*v.* Hist. Phila. City Troop, 136; Simpson, 723.)

MAJOR WILLIAM NICHOLS, brother of Francis Nichols; Maj. Continental Army 1776; Member City Troop May 17, 1779; Honorary Member July 19, 1798; Clerk 'Orphans' Court 1786-1790; United States Marshal for District of Pennsylvania April, 1795; Marshal of Admiralty Court 1798; died 1804. He was a wine and cloth merchant, North Market street, opposite "Indian King," December, 1780. Living at 3 South Fourth street 1791; Member Hibernian Society, 1790.

MAJOR FRANCIS NICHOLS. (*v.* Friendly Sons, 127.)

MAJOR LEWIS NICHOLS. (*v.* Westcott, I. 333, 439.)

MATTHEW POTTS.

NATHANIEL POTTS. Member Berks County Bar August 1, 1781; Philadelphia Bar September, 1782.

JOHN POTTS, JR. Member Philadelphia Bar October 20, 1759.

DR. JONATHAN POTTS. (*v.* Berks County in Revolution, 263; Heitman, 334; Pa. Mag. Hist., I. 175-180.)

ANDREW ROBINSON, for Andrew Robeson, Esq. Member Philadelphia Bar 1773; Register Court of Admiralty June 3, 1779; died May 28, 1781, aged 29. (Col. Rec., XII. 14, 745.)

JOHN SCHAFFER, Paymaster First Battalion Philadelphia Militia. (*v.* Col. Rec. XI. 29.)

GENERAL WILLIAM THOMPSON. (*v.* Friendly Sons, 135.)

JAMES WILSON. (*v.* Pa. Mag. Hist., XI. 270; Simpson, 964; Nat. Cyc. Am. Biog., I. 22.)

October 6, 1779, Governor Reed issued his proclamation commanding all who were "concerned in the Unhappy Transaction" to surrender themselves to the Sheriff of Philadelphia and be committed to jail until released on bail. Of the above named gentlemen the following only obeyed this order, appeared before the Executive Council, and gave bail for further appearance: Colonel Bird, Daniel Clymer, Stephen Chambers, Colonel Gressell, Major Franks, John F. Mifflin, John Lawrence, Jr., Staats Lawrence, Matthew McConnell, Major Nichols, Dr. Jonathan Potts, Nathaniel Potts, John Potts, Jr., James Wilson, and William Bell, trader. (Col. Rec. Pa., XII, 122-154.)

52. LABORATORY, on Third street, probably the old "Workhouse," Third and Market streets, used 1778-1779, for casting balls, &c., and fitted up by Captain Stiles for a magazine of small arms.

writer well recollects was given in charge of Commodore James Nicholson⁵³ of the Navy. The names first present were :

D. Lenox,⁵⁴ John Barclay,⁵⁵ William Hall,⁵⁶ J. M. Nesbitt,⁵⁷ M. M. O'Brien,⁵⁸ D. H. Conyngham,⁵⁹ Isaac Coxe,⁶⁰

53. COMMODORE JAMES NICHOLSON. (*v. Nat. Cyc. Am. Biog.*, II. 231.).

54. MAJOR DAVID LENOX, born —; died April 10, 1828; commissioned Captain 3d Battalion Pennsylvania Militia, Colonels Shea and Cadwallader, January 5, 1776. Was in Fort Washington when it was captured, November 16, 1776. Detached with a part of his Battalion to oppose the landing of the Hessians, 42d Regiment, his command fought with great valor, killing and wounding upwards of 90 of the enemy, with small loss to his own troops. Was taken prisoner and held 18 months, exchanged April 20, 1778. He tells the rest of his military service in his letter, April, 1786, to the Executive Council. (*Pa. Arch.*, X. 754.)

"I was taken Prisoner the 16th Nov. 1776 and Exchanged the 2d April 1778, but was not released till the 15th May. I then joined the Army at Valley Forge, but found that I could not get the Rank to which I was entitled; however having every wish to continue in the Service, I joined General Wayne's Family, & continued the whole Campaign. The Committee of Congress, consisting of General Read from this State, and Colonel Bannister from Virginia, together with the Commanding Officer of each Line, met at the White Plains in August 1778, to ascertain the Rank of the Army. They wishing to do me all the Justice in their power, fixed my Rank, Vizt, a Majority from the 7th June 1777: but the situation of the Army did not admit of my getting the Command to which I was entitled—this is Certified by General Wayne, who was then the Commanding Officer of the Pennsya Line. The Comptroller General has settled with me to the 20th April 1778: but as I could not get my Command, I left the Army after the Campaign of 1778 & think it a hardship to be deprived of my Pay &c, after that time. I refer to General Wayne's Certificate for the facts set forth. D. L."

Indorsed, "1786 April 3." (*Pa. Arch.*, X. 754. See letter of like import, September 5, 1786, *Pa. Arch.*, XI. 55.).

Major Lenox entered Philadelphia City Troop March, 1777; served as private in the campaign of August, 1777-9, and 1780 and 1781 in New Jersey; was First Lieutenant 1794-1796; Honorary Member October 24, 1796; appointed Marshal U.S. Admiralty Court September 26, 1793, serving until May 18, 1795. His participation in the defence of Fort Wilson will be found in the various accounts of the riot. He was also one of the Marshals of the Grand Federal Procession July 4, 1788; Member Committee of Correspondence appointed after the Chesapeake outrage 1807; was selected by Girard, one of the Trustees of the Girard Bank, May 23, 1812, and continued until his death. He was also, 1813, one of the Committee of Superintendence for the Protection of the River Delaware and Philadelphia; President Philadelphia Bank 1813-1818; and a member of the State Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania.

55. JOHN BARCLAY. (*v. Friendly Sons*, p. 95.)

56. WILLIAM HALL, Member City Troop November 14, 1774; resigned June 30, 1803; Honorary Member July 29, 1803; Member Pennsylvania Assembly 1798-1800; died December 10, 1831.

57. JOHN M. NESBITT. (*v. page 188, Note 4.*)

58. M. M. O'BRIEN. (*v. Friendly Sons*, p. 129.)

59. D. H. CONYNGHAM. (*v. Introduction*, p. 183-200.)

60. ISAAC COXE. (*v. Note 45.*)

Thomas C. Morris,⁶¹ Thomas Leiper,⁶² John Dunlap,⁶³ Lieut. Budden,⁶⁴ Ben Davis,⁶⁵ David Duncan,⁶⁶ Alex'r Nesbitt,⁶⁷ John Lardner,⁶⁸ and the rest of the old "City" or 1st⁶⁹ troops as they appeared, and being sent through the city as patrols, put several into prison; and in riding through Race or Vine

61. THOMAS C. MORRIS, Member City Troop March, 1777; Honorary Member Feb. 22, 1783; served in Campaigns 1777-1781; died —.

62. THOMAS LEIPER. (*v.* Simpson, p. 648.)

63. JOHN DUNLAP. (*v.* Friendly Sons, p. 109; History First Troop, p. 143.)

64. *v.* NOTE 50.

65. BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR. History City Troop says: "Lieutenant Flying Camp, 1776; Member City Troop October, 1778; in campaigns 1777-9, 1780, 1781; Honorary Member September 10, 1787; died 1810." Heitman says: "First Lieutenant Pennsylvania Battalion October 27, 1775; Captain January 5, 1776; resigned November 21, 1777." He gives another Benjamin Davis, First Lieutenant Flying Camp July, 1776; prisoner Fort Washington November 16, 1776; released December 8, 1780. There was also a Benjamin Davis, Captain Engineers, Philadelphia Militia, September 12, 1777. (*v.* Pa. Arch., 2d S., XIII. 648.) Benjamin Davis, Jr., Philadelphia, appointed Measurer of Grain and Salt, 1790. (*v.* Pa. Arch., XI. 766.)

66. DAVID DUNCAN, Member City Troop July 4, 1779; Honorary Member September 10, 1787; died —. In campaigns of 1779 and 1781. (*v.* Friendly Sons, p. 400.)

67. ALEXANDER NESBITT, brother of John Maxwell and Jonathan Nesbitt, came from Loughbrickland, County Down, Ireland, son of Alexander Nesbitt, born Ireland —, died Philadelphia September, 1791. He was apprenticed to Conyngham & Nesbitt. In 1774 he espoused the American cause; was elected member Philadelphia City Troop October, 1776; Honorary Member September 10, 1787; served in the campaigns of January-February, 1777; at Germantown September-October, 1777; at Princeton and Fort Wilson 1779; Somerset, N. J., 1780-1781. Took the oath of allegiance to Pennsylvania June 27, 1777. When the Supreme Executive Council requested the City Troop to attend and guard the prisoners who were deported to Virginia for refusing to take the "Test Oath," they successfully plead to be sent to the front to join Washington instead; but the Council requested that two members of the Troop should proceed to Virginia. Alexander Nesbitt and Samuel Caldwell were elected to perform that duty.

In June, 1779, Mr. Nesbitt was in partnership with Colonel Walter Stewart in the Dry Goods business. He was Godfather to Colonel Stewart's son Robert 1780. He was elected a member of Gloucester Fox Hunting Club 1775; the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick 1778; the Hibernian Society 1790. In 1786 he was a contributor to the Pennsylvania Hospital.

68. JOHN LARDNER. Member Philadelphia City Troop October, 1775; Honorary Member October 24, 1786; Member Pennsylvania Association 1791-1792; died February 12, 1825.

69. The above appears to be a correct list of the members of the City Troop who participated in the defence of Fort Wilson. The Biographer of James Wilson gives seven only, among whom he names Major Francis Nichols and Major William Nichols. Major Francis Nichols was not with the Troop that day, but was in Mr. Wilson's house, as he stated October 19, 1779, when he surrendered himself to the Council and gave bail. (Col. Rec., XII. 137.) Conyngham shows that, instead of seven, fifteen of the Troop rallied to the rescue during the riot of the 4th instant.

street, remembers large stones and bricks thrown down upon us—a large one went between Ben Davis and him in Vine or Race street, supposed from a house whose head had been elected to valuable State offices, while the writer cannot obtain justice as to losses and sufferings from capture and loss of property.

Remembers having passed up to above Third street in the Dock, and has often received flat and boat loads of goods just below the bridge in Second street, and has seen Dr. Phineas Bond⁷⁰ shooting woodcock or snipe from Pear to Spruce street, then a marsh with shrub, elder, woods, &c.

Remembers well the beautiful woods⁷¹ to the Schuylkill; they were cut down by the British. Has often enjoyed the same in his rides; and remembers the race of Pacolet,⁷² Childers, and Northumberland the Irish horse; the course then coming into Eighth or Ninth street. Also remembers primitive trees in Norris'⁷³ stable yard, and original or native Walnut trees at Clark's⁷⁴ ball alley, opposite the State House, now near the U. S. Bank and superb stores and shops.

Coming from Martinique in the beginning of the year 1779 sailed in the "Nautilus,"⁷⁵ Captain Kellum and 2d Captain Brown, under convoy of the French frigate "Blanche"⁷⁶ and "Senegal" corvette;⁷⁷ called at Guada-

70. DR. PHINEAS BOND. (*v.* Sabine's Loyalists, I. 235; Col. Rec. Pa., XI., XV.; Pa. Arch., VI., IX.; Westcott, 923.)

71. "THE GOVERNOR'S WOODS," or "Centre Woods," from Broad street to the Schuylkill and from High to South street. (*v.* Westcott, I. 231.)

72. THE RACE COURSE referred to, and which gave the name to Race street, was in a circular form from Arch or Race street down Spruce, and from 8th street of Delaware to the Schuylkill, two miles for a heat. (Westcott, 940; Hayden's Virginia Genealogies, 471.) The Pacolet and Childers race occurred before 1820, when the law forbid races in the city, but all efforts to learn the exact date have failed.

73. ISAAC NORRIS' House and Garden. (*v.* Watson, I. 408.)

74. CLARKE'S HALL. (*v.* Watson, I. 374; III. 190.)

75. THE "NAUTILUS," probably owned by Conyngham & Nesbitt.

76. FRIGATE "LA BLANCHE." This was one of D'Estaing's fleet, 1778-1779, a Frigate of 26 guns commanded by M. de La Galissonniere. It was taken from the French by

loupe and Eustatia, and while landing both there and at Guadaloupe was hurried off by the fleet getting under way and was forced to go on board; got clear of the passages to leeward, Anegada,⁷⁸ Sabra,⁷⁹ etc., and in running for the coast of America parted with the convoy, passed a fleet outward bound, supposed under convey of the "Goliath," British heavy ship, and ran for the coast of America, when, on the morning of blank date, a cry was made of "land or breakers," which, as we supposed, was Hatteras, when, as the day broke, we found it was a large British fleet, and as the day increased were chased by a frigate, and had to run our brig almost under water to get clear of her; but as the wind was fair and continued fresh until ten o'clock, and we had outsailed or the frigate had rejoined her convoy, we made land and stood along shore, when the wind shifting to the westward as we neared the Cape Henry, found a large fleet of British cruisers and privateers coming out of the Chesapeake.⁸⁰ We tried to stand off, but they so manœvered that we could not clear them, and a fast-sailing armed schooner exchanged shots with us, finding which we "about ship" and ran on shore about eight miles above Currituck,⁸¹ and next day, having cut away our masts and having land-

Admiral Rowley in the West Indies, November, 1779. Grasse and la Motte-Piquet were sent by d'Estaing with ten vessels to the Antilles. They were all dispersed in a tempest, "et les frégates *la Blanche*, *l'Alemene* et *la Fortune* tomberent aux mains des Anglais." Noailles "Marins et Soldats Francais en Amérique," 1903, pp. 104-105, 375; Pa. Mag., Hist., XXVII., p. 201.

77. CORVETTE "LE SENEGAL," a British vessel of 16 guns, commanded by Captain J. Ingliss, taken from them by D'Estaing in 1778 (v. Pa. Mag. Hist., XXVII. 200), and while in the French fleet commanded by the Count de Gambis, she was recaptured 1780 on the River Gambia, E. I., by her former commander. (*id.* 202.) D'Estaing sent her, January 7, 1779, to France, at which time she, with the frigate *La Blanche*, conveyed the *Nautilus* on its way to the coast of America. Noailles "Marin et Soldat Française en Amérique," 1903, p. 62.

78. ANEGARDA, one of the Virgin Islands.

79. SABA, one of the Dutch West Indies.

80. SIR GEORGE COLLIER'S FLEET, which attacked Fort Nelson and Norfolk Navy Yard, Va., May, 1779, entered Hampton Roads May 9. (v. Lossing, II. 332.)

81. CURRITUCK ISLAND, enclosing Currituck Sound.

ed our guns and got some powder and shot, and being joined by the Militia of Princess Anne, Virginia, we beat them off in the attacks of the schooners and a brig of 12 or 14 guns whose peaktye was shot off by the gun under my command and was near bringing her on shore. Our salt was lost, but saved eight bales of blankets belonging to the United States and a quantity of hardware for Mr. Cabarris⁸² of North Carolina. I stayed several days with the wreck and then went up to Kemp's⁸³ landing, where I found stores for the cargo, and went to Norfolk,⁸⁴ then in ruins from the burning by the British; purchased a horse and sulky from Paul Siemer;⁸⁵ travelled through Virginia in company with Colonel Walter Stewart,⁸⁶ Colonel Ball⁸⁷ of the American Army, then on furlough, and with Nicholas Low⁸⁸ of New York and Captain Samuel Smith⁸⁹ of Baltimore. Remembers well the peach trees in blossom in Princess Anne; and as we came on had a fall of snow that killed all the fruit that season.

Passed some days in Baltimore, and was forwarded on by

82. HON. STEPHEN CABARRIS, born France 1754; died Pembroke, North Carolina, 1808; Member North Carolina Legislature from Edenton 1784-1787, and Chowan county 1788-1805; Speaker House of Commons 1800-1805; lived, died and buried at Pembroke. Cabarris county was named for him. (*v. Wheeler's North Carolina*, II. 94.)

83. KEMP'S LANDING, Princess Anne County, Va., ten miles from Norfolk. In 1783 the Assembly set off "60 acres lying at the place commonly known as Kemp's Landing to establish the town of Kempsville," at the head of tidewater on Elizabeth River, named for Mr. George Kemp. (*Hening's Statutes of Va.*, XI. 270.) Princess Anne County is the southeast corner of Virginia.

84. NORFOLK, VA., burned by Lord Dunmore January 1, 1776.

85. PAUL SIEMER of Norfolk.

86. COLONEL WALTER STEWART came to Philadelphia as apprentice to the house of Conyngham & Nesbitt. (*v. Friendly Sons*, p. 134.)

87. COLONEL BURGESS BALL of "Traveller's Rest," Spotsylvania County, and "Springwood," Loudoun County, Va., a near relative and volunteer Aide to General Washington; Lieutenant Colonel First Virginia Regiment, Continental Army, 1777. (*v. sketch of him, Hayden's "Virginia Genealogies*, 111-116.)

88. NICHOLAS LOW, merchant, New York City. (*v. Barrett's Merchants of New York; Appleton's Cyc. Am. Biog.*, IV. 38.)

89. CAPTAIN SAMUEL SMITH. Captain 6th Company, Smallwood's Regiment, Maryland Line, 1776; Major General Militia, War of 1812. (*v. Appleton's Cyc. Am. Biog.*, V. 587; *Nat. Cyc. Am. Biog.*, I. 73.)

my Cousin David Plunkett,⁹⁰ who lent me a horse and servant to reach Philadelphia, where I quartered with J. M. Nesbitt in Front street. Was generally introduced into all

90. CAPT. DAVID PLUNKET was the second son of Rev. Thomas Plunket of Dublin, Ireland, and his wife Mary Conyngham, sister of Redmond Conyngham, Esq., thus younger brother of William Conyngham Plunket, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, Baron Plunket, Peerage of Great Britain. He was born Dublin about 1750, came to Philadelphia 1766 as an apprentice to his uncle in the house of Conyngham, Nesbitt & Co. to learn the shipping business. After the expiration of his time he located, 1771, in Baltimore, Md., and in 1779, with his cousin David Stewart, another nephew of Redmond Conyngham, began the commercial life of the firm of Stewart & Plunket. When the War of the Revolution opened he warmly espoused the American cause and entered the Regiment of Colonel Smallwood as 2d Lieutenant, Captain Peter Adams' Company, elected by the Convention of Maryland January 2, 1776, serving to December, 1776. He was with his company in the battle of Long Island, August 22-23, 1776, where his command was surrounded by the British in overwhelming numbers. When it was determined not to surrender, but to cut their way through the enemy's lines, Lieutenant Plunket acted with distinguished bravery. McSherry says (201-202): "Major Gist with 400 Maryland troops charged on Cornwallis' lines five times, each time being repulsed, but the sixth charge resulted in victory, but with a loss to the Marylanders of 259 officers and men." Of the charge a writer who was in the battle says: "The Major, Captain Ramsey and Lieutenant Plunket were foremost and within 100 yards of the enemy's muzzles when they were fired on by the enemy, who were chiefly under cover of an orchard." The lines of the enemy were penetrated, but Plunket was untouched. (Moore's Diary, I. 297.) The company of Captain Adams numbered 60 at the battle of Long Island. In September following only three were returned as "present fit for duty," so fearful was the fatality of that action. Lieutenant Plunket was commissioned Captain 4th Continental Dragoons January 10, 1777; was captured by the British October 20, 1777, and exchanged in 1778, but resigned March 1, 1779. It was Plunket's desire at the first to enter the Navy rather than the Army, as a letter from General Richard Henry Lee to the Maryland Committee of Safety indicates. The Committee had in 1776 recommended him to be a Captain of Marines, but the place sought had long before been filled. He was, however, appointed 3d Lieutenant U. S. Navy July 20, 1781, and served until the war ended. He received from the State of Maryland £343.9.10 compensation for depreciated pay. In 1776 he was the officer sent by the Committee of Safety, "as one in whose prudence and industry we can rely," to wait on Congress to receive from that body instructions relative to the seizure of the person of Governor Eden of Maryland. In 1777 he was an enthusiastic member of the Baltimore Whig Club, every one of which was "pledged to save our invaded country," and as such was prominent in the unsuccessful attempt of the Club, under Commodore Nicholson, to banish from the State the Tory editor of the Maryland Journal, William Goddard, for his treasonable articles. (Schaff's History of Baltimore.)

In 1793 he was a captain of a company of mounted volunteers formed in view of war with France then threatened. He was also a member of the committee of citizens appointed to provide for the French Refugees of Hispaniola.

At the close of the war he resumed his connection with the commercial house of Stewart & Plunket, and subsequently realized quite a fortune. Baker, in his "Itinerary of Washington," notes his dining with Washington in Philadelphia September, 1791. (Pa. Mag. Hist., XX. 199.) He died at sea in 1793, en route for Ireland from the West Indies, leaving £40,000 to be divided between the lady to whom he was engaged and his brother, Lord Plunket. (v. Life, Letters and Speeches of Lord Plunket, 2 vols., London, 1867, p. 28, *et seq.*)

societies, and saw the traitor Arnold, then married to the beautiful Miss Shippen,⁹¹ but at this day declare I never liked or was sociable with him. If I am not much deceived or nought in my conjecture, I think if King William would allow his being in Philadelphia for one evening, I, in company with Major Mercer⁹² of Virginia, visiting at Dr. Redman's⁹³ in Second street, we were shut out and refused entrance. After some days it was told by some of the young ladies that a Tory of important character was drinking tea with them. G. Evans, at the Tavern,⁹⁴ now the "Merchants' Coffee House," told me in confidence that an officer whom I saw on the stairs was Prince Edward, who, with a party from Canada, was travelling "incognito," it shows the conduct of parties at this day, and to whom ought to be held up the rewards of officers, when, alack, it is all the reverse.

In the year 1779 or 80, before Robert Morris was in public life, he usually had a party to dine with him on Saturday, or perhaps it was before and during the stoppage of the Port. The party were generally Mr. J. M. Nesbitt, Poor, Beach, and if a stranger were in town for whom he wished a compliment; the fact attending this I well remember, but cannot so well fix the time or date. Dinner being on the table on a Saturday, Mrs. Morris was much embarrassed by Mr. Morris keeping the company waiting, and when he came he said he was detained by dispatching Captain Wilson in their schooner "Lyon" for the Havanna. It so happened in about three or four weeks the usual party

91. MARGARET SHIPPEN. (*v.* Keith's Prov. Councillors Pa., p. 64; Pa. Mag. Hist., Vols. XXIV., XXV., XXVI.)

92. MAJOR JOHN FRANCIS MERCER, 1st Lieutenant, 3d Virginia Regiment, February 26, 1776; wounded Brandywine September 11, 1777; Captain June 27, 1777; Major and Aide de Camp to General Henry Lee June 8, 1778; resigned October —, 1779; Lieutenant Colonel Virginia Militia October, 1780—November, 1781; died August 30, 1821. (*App. Cyc. Am. Biog.*, III. 301; Heitman, 291.)

93. JOHN REDMAN. (*v.* Note 128.)

94. MERCHANTS' COFFEE HOUSE, called, 1774, "The New Tavern," in Second street above Walnut. (*Marshall's Diary*, 10.)

were met, and just after dinner the servant introduced Captain Wilson, and Mr. Morris broke out in a great rage and surprise, abusing Captain Wilson; but on the Captain handing him his letters and papers was surprised at finding he had been to Havanna, and through a mistake had not only made a great but a quick voyage, for on looking to his orders 300 boxes of sugar were put on board in place of 300 boxes of segars, as ordered by Mr. Morris, and proved a good and fortunate voyage.

In 1781, when Robert Morris was Financier and Gouverneur Morris Assistant,⁹⁵ the Continental money was so depreciated that the Treasury was at a low state, when Mr. Morris placed John Swanwick⁹⁶ in a room at Jacob Barge's⁹⁷ house in Market street, with power to issue notes, redeemable with specie or bank notes; and remember that I have, upon application from Mr. Morris, sent up from our chest, on different days, 5,000, 6,000 and 7,000 dollars, which being, when sent up, spread out on the counter and offered to such as had orders, on seeing the specie, would take the notes signed J. Swanwick, and gave a renewed credit to the measures of Mr. Morris as Financier.

95. ROBERT MORRIS was appointed Superintendent of Finance, and Gouverneur Morris his Assistant, February 20, 1780. (*v.* Life of Gouverneur Morris.)

96. JOHN SWANWICK. Of him Ritter, in "Philadelphia and her Merchants," says (p. 48): "A shipping merchant, held a prominent position at No. 20 Penn steet [Directory of 1791 says No. 19], for in addition to his mercantile pursuits, and his general association with ships and cargoes of sugar, teas, coffee, etc., he was a politician of 1796-1798, a Democrat of some importance, and as such was elected and sent to Congress about 1795-1796, where he was also an opponent of Jay's treaty; these extraneous matters being adverse to merchandizing, drew heavily upon his prosperity which suppressed a successful issue to his labors." His Congressional term was from 1795 to 1799, but he resigned before his second term had expired, in 1798. At the death in 1783 of Mr. Inglis of the firm of "Willing, Morris & Inglis," he was taken into partnership and the firm became "Willing, Morris & Swanwick." Sumner, in his "Financier and Finances of the American Revolution," II. 157, refers to the incident as told by Conyngham, as does Oberholtzer's "Robert Morris," 1903, 155, 156, 214, but with no mention as to who supplied the coin.

97. JACOB BARGE, Gentleman, 191 High street, in 1791. Hiltzheimer's Diary, Pa. Mag. Hist., XVI., makes frequent mention of Mr. Barge.

Remembers [June, 1783] Mr. Boudinot⁹⁸ frightened out of Congress Hall by the clamour of the Invalids, and leaving his post; and when I went home, found Mr. and Mrs. Morris at my house at "Woodford" on the Ridge Road four miles,⁹⁹ where they stayed until the alarm was over, which they were sorry they had dreaded, or had been alarmed about.

In his reminiscences has to record a fact fatal to him connectively in point of loss. Just before the Peace took place in 1783, Jonathan Nesbitt,¹⁰⁰ who had been settled in L'Orient in France under the protection of Robert Morris and

98. ELIAS BOUDINOT. (*v. Nat. Cyc. Am. Biog.*, II. 274.) He was elected President of the Continental Congress November 4, 1782, and was presiding over the session of June, 1783, when the less than one hundred disbanded soldiers of the Pennsylvania Line marched from Lancaster to Philadelphia to ask Congress for the pay due them.

"The mutinous soldiers, under charge of certain sergeants, presented themselves drawn up in the street before the State House where Congress was assembled. They made no attempt to enter the building or to insult any member of Congress. * * * Although no attempt was made to compel Congress by force to grant the demands of the soldiers, yet its members became very much alarmed and adjourned to meet at Princeton." (*v. Life of John Dickenson*, Stillé I. 244.)

This was the occasion of Mr. Boudinot being frightened out of Congress and Morris' flight to "Woodford." Oberholtzer's Robert Morris, p. 182, mentions the flight of Morris "to the house of a friend."

99. "WOODFORD," four miles from Philadelphia, 1783, was located in what is now Fairmount Park on the Ridge Road, not far from the Macpherson mansion occupied by General Arnold.

Drinker's Journal records that, "July 5, 1797, this morning the elegant seat of Hayfield Conyngham, Esq., in the neighbourhood of this city, was burned down." The Mount Pleasant estate, on which the Macpherson house stood, was on the east bank of the Schuylkill. (*v. Westcott*, 389; *Watson*, III. 494.)

100. JONATHAN NESBITT, brother of John Maxwell Nesbitt, born County Down, Ireland, was apprenticed to his brother. When his time had expired he sailed, 1775, in the "Charming Peggy," Captain Gustavus Conyngham, as supercargo, with a load of flaxseed for Europe. Arriving at Dunkirk, France, he went to Holland to buy powder and other munitions of war for Pennsylvania to be shipped on the "Peggy." These articles he shipped in Dutch vessels, which transferred them to Conyngham's ship, but they were lost in her subsequent capture. He then located at L'Orient, in the south of France, made a port of entry 1770. Here he established a mercantile house as a source of supply for Pennsylvania, and interested himself with great energy in aiding the Colony. Mr. Conyngham here tells of his misfortunes and death. He was in Philadelphia 1785 and attended the meeting, as a guest, of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick December 17, 1785. Also in 1792, when he had 1600 acres of land surveyed for him in Huntingdon county, or else his brother had it done for him. In 1773, 1774 he had 1500 acres in Northumberland county and 1200 in Westmoreland county. (*v. Letter from Nesbitt about Capt. Gustavus Conyngham*, Hale's "Franklin in France," I. 344.)

Mr. Nesbitt was never a member of the firm of Conyngham, Nesbitt & Co.

the house of J. M. Nesbitt & Co., hearing rumours of or about peace, went up to Paris, and in confidence asked Dr. Franklin whether he ought or should go on in heavy shipments to America, having then the three ships, "Congress," 28 guns, "Intrepid," 30 guns, and a ship fitted out for 20 guns, when Dr. Franklin told him to go on, and he carried on his equipment, and they sailed under an agreement to assist and fight together. Coming on the coast, the "Intrepid," Moses Brown, Captain,¹⁰¹ and the "Congress," Captain Geddes,¹⁰² ran from poor Captain Thomas Bell in the "Renette,"¹⁰³ who, falling in with an English brig, called the "Morson," captured her and weakened his crew, and in a day after was attacked by a British sloop of war, which he fought until a shot carried off his hand, and he was forced to surrender, thus losing the concerned a great value; and the two others that got in safely had not been in but a few

101. The "INTREPID," Captain Moses Brown of New Hampshire, a vessel of 120 guns and 160 men, which in 1779 took four vessels from the enemy. (*v.* McClay's *Am. Privateers*, 134.)

102. The "CONGRESS," Captain George Geddes of Philadelphia, was a Pennsylvania ship of 24 guns and 200 men commissioned by the Naval Board 1781. Captain Geddes commanded the brig "Holker," 10 guns and 35 men, 1779. In June, 1779, he captured the British ship "Diana," having on board 80 cannons, 60 swivels, 10 cohorns, &c. In August, 1779, he captured three brigs with cargoes of rum and sugar, one of which was wrecked on Cape May; also a sloop of 6 guns with cargo of dry goods. He captured, 1779, the scow "Friendship," but unfortunately liberated the captain and crew, for which action he was required by the Supreme Executive Council to give bond. (*Col. Rec.*, XII. 49; *Pa. Arch.*, 2d S., I. 370.) In command of the "Congress," September 6, 1781, he had his memorable engagement off Charleston with the British sloop of war "Savage," commanded by Captain C. Stirling, with 20 guns and 150 men. The British reports credits her with 16 guns. (*Pa. Mag. Hist.* XXVII. 200.) After a severe action of two hours the "Savage" surrendered, having lost her captain, and 55 killed and wounded. (*McClay, American Privateers*, 211-123.) Captain Geddes lived, 1791, at 67 Vine street, Philadelphia.

103. The "RENETTE," Captain Thomas Bell of Pennsylvania, 20 guns. Of this vessel nothing more than Mr. Conyngham states can be learned. She was fitted out in France under Jonathan Nesbitt, and apparently was not registered in Philadelphia. The action between the "Renette" and the British sloop of war was probably the last naval engagement of the Revolution. The action is not recorded in the list of losses published *Pa. Mag.* XXVII. 176-205. Captain Bell was commissioned November 13, 1776, by the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, commander of the privateer "Speedwell," owned by J. M. Nesbitt & Co., a ship of 10 guns and 25 men. In 1780 she had been purchased by the State, and Captain Bell then became master of the "Renette." In 1781 he lived in Philadelphia at 182 South Second street.

days, when the news of Peace arrived, and after sales made in a year or two after, a loss attended of more than one-half cost. So much for patriotism of that day or this, and this under General Jackson, from whom could not or cannot obtain justice for losses, let alone a place or appointment. Value of shipments per "Renette," "Congress" and "Intrepid" equal to 50,000 pounds sterling. Loss ultimate almost total, for which under the Laws of France, for final settlement of his affairs, Jonathan Nesbitt went to France and died in distress.

It had been proposed that R. Morris, J. M. Nesbitt & Co., and Colonel Bounter, and Mr. Holker¹⁰⁴ were to be partners, but failing of the parties to complete their engagements, the final loss fell on Jonathan Nesbitt.

In continuing my reminiscences I recollected that a common place book, to be found in my desk, not only saves the writing, but must contain, much more distinctly, the incidents of my voyage to and from Europe, and for the former refer thereto which will save many sheets of paper in this form, observing that since then Oliver Macausland¹⁰⁵ has

104. "THE HON. JOHN HOLKER, Esq.," Agent General of the Royal Marine of France, at Philadelphia, 1778-1783, and also Consul General of France, to New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, September, 1781-1783. Lived in the "Richard Penn House," built by the widow Masters, south side Market, between Fifth and Sixth streets, one of the finest mansions in Philadelphia, occupied by General Howe, 1777-1778; Arnold, 1778-1779; Holker, 1779-1780, when it was destroyed by fire. (Pa. Mag. XXII. 88, 89). Holker was so energetic in supplying the French fleets and sailing vessels with flour, masts, &c., as to subject himself to the serious charges of clandestine and private trading, from which charges the Executive Council acquitted him. (Westcott I. 398). The State paid his account in full, £857, 10s., March 26, 1782, and April 15, 1785, gave him a certificate that "Mr. Holker of this city, late Consul General, &c., was recognized as such by the Council." From this it appears that he was still in Philadelphia, 1785, but not as Consul General. His name is not in the Directory of 1791. (Pa. Mag. Hist. XVII. 350-1. Chastellux Travels in No. Am. (1828), 148-149; Financier and Finances of the American Revolution, Sumner, I. 229-231, 304, II. 163-165.)

105. Rev. Oliver Macausland of Strabane, born November 6, 1757, died September, 1840, son of Oliver Macausland, Esq., Member Parliament for Strabane, County Londonderry. He was Rector of Finlagan, County Derry, and was Chief of the Clan of Macauslanes of Glenduglas in Dumbartonshire. His sister married William Conyngnam Plunket, Baron Plunket. He was sixth from Baron McAuslan of Glenduglas, who came to Ireland 1600. (v. Burke's Landed Gentry). He married, 1785, Hannah Con-

been removed from Garvagh to a more lucrative and superb Parish residence called Finlagan, near Newton Leinnavady, and that my cousin William Conyngham Plunket¹⁰⁶ has been made Chief Justice of Ireland, and also raised to the Peerage as Baron Lord Plunket.

In the year 1781 a revolt or disturbance arose in the Pennsylvania Line of the United States Army,¹⁰⁷ and the officers were put in terror, and their authority taken away by the soldiers who formed a "Board of Sergeants," etc., and moved in a body towards Trenton. The officers, General Wayne,¹⁰⁸ Lord Sterling,¹⁰⁹ etc., came on to Trenton, and calling on the State for help, under orders from Governor Reed our Troop was ordered to march, and on the fifth day of January we marched out sixty-three strong, as my memory serves. We went out to Bristol, next day to Trenton. Had some difficulty in getting stabling and quarters, from the apprehension and dread that prevailed. Obtained a bed from an old school-fellow, but slept little. Recollects that the stables were much crowded; and in the evening, when our officer went to see our horses fed and cleaned, that John Redman,¹¹⁰ observing Billy Lawrence¹¹¹ cleaning and rubbing down

yngham, fourth daughter of Redmond Conyngham, and had John, Captain Royal Navy, died at sea in command of H. M. S. Cruiser, 1835, Rev. Redmond and others. (*v.* Burke's Landed Gentry, 1852, 790; 1871, 838. Burke's History of the Commons, 1836, II. 56-60).

106. WILLIAM CONYNGHAM PLUNKET, Baron Plunket. (*v.* page 186; also Burke's Peerage, article "Plunket"; Foster's Peerage, ditto; Lodge's Peerage, ditto.)

107. REVOLT OF THE PENNSYLVANIA LINE. For a full account of this event *v.* Penn'a Arch. 2d S. XI. 631-674.

108. WAYNE. (*v.* Major General Anthony Wayne and the Pennsylvania Line in the Continental Army. Stillé, 1893, pp. 239-262.)

109. LORD STERLING. (*v.* Life of William Alexander, Earl of Sterling, etc., Duer., 1857, vol. 2, New Jersey Historical Society publications.)

110. JOHN REDMAN. The History of the Schuylkill Fishing Company, 1889, p. 264, makes this John Redman, M. D., the well known Physician of Philadelphia, born February 22, 1722; died March 19, 1808; graduated M. D., Leyden, July, 1748; member Schuylkill Fishing Company 1754; member First City Troop July 4, 1770; served in the campaigns of 1779-1781; 4th Sergeant 1794; Honorary Member 1787. It is possible that Dr. Redman at sixty years of age served as private in the City Troop, but it may be that the person of the name recorded in the History of First City Troop was John Redman, grocer, 53 Mulberry street, 1791. (For a very interesting account of John Redman, the Physician, *v.* Brown's American Register, Philadelphia, 1808, III. 549-554; Westcott, 1891.

111. WILLIAM LAWRENCE. Member Philadelphia City Troop March, 1777; Honorary Member February 22, 1782; served in the campaign of 1781 only, as stated *supra*, but his name does not occur in the list of members on duty in 1781, as given in History First City Troop, 29-30. (*v.* Keith, 450.)

his horse, found that he had neglected cleaning some part, but that, as he had done so well, he would excuse him, as he had attended to the horse of John Redman instead of his own, which created much sport among our Troop. Marched next day to Princeton; were sent to different quarters, as all houses were full, being placed at a Mr. Schenk's, near Princeton. Next morning at roll call was drafted to march, with three of our Troop, Thomas Irvin,¹¹² Isaac Coxe¹¹³ and D. H. Conyngham, and received directions to go down as Videttes to Amboy. Soon after marching were stopped by a file of soldiers, being a Picket Guard for the "Board of Sergeants," who detained us until they found we were under orders from the Army Officers and Governor Reed. They had at that moment two spies, namely, Sergeant Mason and James Ogden, that had been stopped by them, and of whom more hereafter. We went on to Long Bridge and to Toms River and slept at an Inn at some cross-roads, meeting there Mr. Rattoon,¹¹⁴ who proposed going down with us, and whose house was the large tavern opposite Amboy. He not only gave us every advice and direction, but told us of the critical situation we were in from the conduct of the Tories about us, led us down to his house, told us to feed our horses and bridle them, while he was preparing breakfast for us; and his observation will be proved correct by what I shall now relate. We went up with him to the top of his house and thence saw the British troops at or about Amboy, with arms piled or grounded, and had not been five minutes there until a cannon fired from the "Vulture"¹¹⁵ sloop of war served as a rallying; the drums beat to arms, and we took only time to see the troops

112. THOMAS IRVIN. Member Philadelphia City Troop, March, 1777; Honorary Member September 10, 1787; served in the campaigns of 1778-1781.

113. ISAAC COXE. *v.* Note 45.

114. THOMAS RATTOON of Perth Amboy, probably. He married, June 18, 1766, Catherine Magonnagil.

115. The "VULTURE," the British vessel which aided the escape of Arnold after the arrest of André, 1780. (*v.* Lossing, I. 717, 720, 748.)

formed, and Mr. Rattoon told us to gallop off, as the boats from the "Vulture" could land men near where we had to pass. We went off accordingly, and heard shot fall in the woods near which we passed; came up the country, and finding Major Taylor¹¹⁶ at Toms River bridge, left our orders with him and obtained quarters in a farm house, comfortable and quiet; but we took turns to mount guard, and soon after heard that Simcoe¹¹⁷ with a party of British "Horse" had passed near us. Coming up to Princeton, we found the line marching into Trenton, and followed it in the rear in saving, by the interest made by us, James Caldwell¹¹⁸ from a severe treatment for some hasty expressions he had used. Repairing to Bloomsbury house, near Trenton, delivered our report to Governor Reed, Lord Sterling, General Wayne, etc. Were told we must try for quarters where we could, and knowing that Randall Mitchell¹¹⁹ lived near, I went and asked lodgings, which were, I remember, rather unwillingly granted to an old friend. While at supper, one of our Troop came to the door with orders that all troopers there should mount and go down to the ferry and cross the river and go up to Somerset, the house of Thomas Barclay,¹²⁰ which to me was and would have been agreeable, but when I came there found we had the two Spies sent over to be tried, committed to our Lieutenant Budden,¹²¹ and on crossing the river I was alone with the ferryman, and the ice was making, and a severer moment I have sel-

116. MAJOR JAMES TAYLOR of Lancaster County, Captain 4th Pennsylvania Battalion January 5, 1776; Judge Advocate Northern Army December 26, 1776; Major 5th Regiment Pennsylvania Line 1777. (*v.* Stillé's "Wayne," 375; Heitman, 393.)

117. JOHN GRAVES SIMCOE, 1752-1806. Lieutenant Colonel of the "Queen's Rangers" 1781, afterwards Governor of Canada. (*v.* Simcoe's "Journal of the War in America," also Dictionary Nat. Biog., London, LII. 253.)

118. JAMES CALDWELL. Member Philadelphia City Troop October, 1775; died September 6, 1783; served in the campaigns of 1776-1779.

119. Cannot identify him.

120. THOMAS BARCLAY. "In a grove of pines crowning a ridge overlooking the Delaware, opposite Trenton, there stood, upon the 8th of December, 1776, a mansion belonging to Thomas Barclay of Philadelphia," &c. (*v.* "New Jersey as a Colony and as a State," Lee, 1902, II. 141.) He was a member of the Committee of Correspondence for Philadelphia, 1774-1775, &c., and a member Friendly Sons of St. Patrick. *q. v.*, p. 95.

121. LIEUT. JAMES BUDDEN. (*v.* Note 50).

dom passed, but got over and up to the house at Somerset. The trial was short and quick, and the Sergeant Mason and James Ogden were condemned by Lord Sterling to be hung the next morning by 9 o'clock, and Major Fishbourne¹²² and the officers and our Troop to see it executed. You may suppose how I could pass such a night, and well recollect my obtaining a Bible, which, with prayers, was received by Sergeant Mason, but Ogden was so frightened that he could only repeat certain expressions and the name of our Saviour. I got leave for an hour to sleep at Lord Stirling's feet before the fire, and at daylight we were turned out and went down to the road near Morrisville, when a large tree was fixed on by Major Fishbourne and Nichols, and others

122. MAJOR BENJAMIN FISHBOURNE, born Philadelphia January 4, 1759; died Georgia —; erroneously given as "William Fishburn" in Appleton's Cyc. Am. Biog., II. 454; son of William and Mary (Tallman) Fishbourne, and brother-in-law of Thomas Wharton, first President of the Supreme Executive Council of the State. (Life of Joseph Reed, I. 112.) Thomas Wharton married, 2d, Elizabeth Fishbourne. (Keith, 25.) Her sister Sarah married John Mifflin. (*id.* 363.)

Benjamin Fishbourne appears in public life, first as an applicant, September 24, 1776, to the Secretary of War for the appointment of Paymaster in Colonel Joseph Wood's Battalion Pennsylvania Troops, late commanded by Colonel St. Clair, but located at Ticonderoga in 1776. (Force's Archives, II. 490.) The Executive Council recommended him for the position September 28, 1776. (Pa. Col. Rec., X. 735.) He was commissioned by Congress Captain and Paymaster October 1, 1776. (Force, II. 1384.) A letter from Colonel Woods at Ticonderoga, December 4, 1776, shows that he was at his post on that date, a bearer of a letter from President Wharton stating that the Pennsylvania troops had not been paid. (*id.* III. 1358.)

He was made Captain of a company in the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment, Continental Line, January 3, 1777. (Pa. Arch., 2d S., X. 496.) Appointed February 17, 1779, Aide de Camp to General Anthony Wayne, with whom he served with rank of Major until 1783. In the re-arrangement of the Fourth, January 17, 1781, he is again reported as Captain, continuing thus until January 1, 1783, when he was transferred to the First Pennsylvania. In 1781 he was a member of the Court Martial that tried the two spies, Washington names him in his letter to Wayne, January 3, 1781, as "Major Fishbourne," also General Stirling in appointing Fishbourne on the Court Martial, January 10, 1781. (Stillé's Life of Wayne, 252; Pa. Arch., 2d S., X. 665.) Wayne appeared much attached to him, and when wounded at Stony Point, "turning to his aides de camp Captains Fishbourne and Archer, he begged them to carry him to the interior of the Fort, where he wished to die should his wound prove mortal." (Wayne, 195.) In his official Report of this brilliant action, Wayne says: "I should be wanting in gratitude was I to omit mentioning Capt. Fishbourne & Mr Archer my two Aids de Camp, who on every Occasion shewed the greatest Intrepidity & Supported me into the works after I had received my wound in passing the last Abbatis." (*id.* 210.)

Major Fishbourne served with Wayne until 1783, when he permanently located in Savannah, Ga., where in 1787 he became a Member of the Georgia State Society of the Cincinnati. (Habersham Historical Coll., i. 39, ii. 634.) It was probably he to whom the Governor of Georgia referred in 1789 during the Indian difficulties, thus: "I have directed Lieutenant Colonel Fishbourne to aid your arrangements for the defence of your valuable town, which I sincerely hope will not be exposed to any danger." (Stevens' Georgia, II. 444; also Dawson's Stony Point, 51-57, 74-79, 120.)

Benjamin Fishbourne married, December 10, 1783, Annie Wiant, or Ware, of Georgia, who died, Savannah, 1798. He died, Mount Hope, Georgia, November 8, 1790. "He had three children who died young"; but Hon. W. B. Reed, in the note referred to *supra*, says he had a daughter who married Joshua Clibborne. (Life of Joseph Reed, 112.) One of the Orderly Books of Wayne, in the handwriting of Fishbourne, from January to May, 1782, dated at Headquarters, Ebenezer, Ga., is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and is partly published in the Pennsylvania Magazine of History.

of our Troop brought in a wagon and a black boy belonging to Paddy's Ferry, as then called, and no rope could be had, when a servant sent to me came up with a stout halter on his horse, and Lieutenant Budden made the knot. The Sergeant died like a brave man, begging it should be so mentioned, "a true and faithful subject of George the 3d." Ogden was in a dreadful state, but we left him hanging and came on to Bristol and thence home. Sergeant Mason was a native of St. Johns, near Londonderry, Ireland, was married, and had promise of promotion in Colonel Delancey's "Horse." Ogden was a Jerseyman, connected with the family of Drake, then an Innkeeper at New Brunswick, New Jersey.¹²³

123. The following account of this tragic incident from the first manuscript of Mr. Conyngham is repeated here as published *verbatim* in the "History of the First Troop of Philadelphia City Cavalry," p. 28. It differs slightly from the amanuensis copy of the Reminiscences and illustrates more accurately Mr. Conyngham's style. It is given also as from the "Diary of an Unknown Officer" in Pa. Arch., 2d S., XI. 670.

"Upon our leaving our quarters at Mr. Schenck's house, we came upon a Picquet Guard of the Board of Sergeants, & were stopped, & taken before Sergeant Lyons & after a short detention, & explaining our orders, we were allowed to depart, the two spies, Mason & Ogden, were then in charge of this Guard. We proceeded on the Route to Amboy, & on a Post near South or Toms River, we fell in with Major Taylor with a party of Jersey Militia & having been instructed so to do, we told him to take up the Planks and even destroy the Bridge, if the British should march that way, and that we would return on the gallop if we met them; we rode on until Night, and lodged in a farm-house off the Road. In the morning proceeded with Mr. Rattoon to his house at Perth Amboy, & were conducted privately by him into his House, where we had our Breakfasts and fed our Horses, after which, he took us to the roof of his house, whence we saw the British Army, their men indulged in playing foot Ball. At last, from a Signal from the Ship, they beat to Arms, & we had to run fast, mount our Horses & ride off; the Ship firing Guns into the Wood that we passed along, & sent their Boats on Shore, but we were soon out of their Way, & returned to Princeton, & joined the Army in the March to Trenton, we being kept in the rear by order of the Sergeants. After reaching Trenton & relating to Gen. Wayne, at Bloomsbury, what we had seen & Done, we were sent to seek quarters; & after I had just secured lodgings, I received an Order to cross the river & join the Guard at Somerset, the house of Mr. Tho' Barclay, where the Spies were sent, and Lord Sterling and Gen'l Wayne and Major Fishborn were quartered. After great trouble & difficulty from the Ice in the Delaware, I reached it, & soon after we received Orders to bring up the Prisoners. Matters were soon settled by the Court Martial, & they were condemned to be hung next morning before 9 o'Clock, & the execution of the Order was given to Major Fishborn. Ogden was much agitated & overcome upon hearing his Sentence, but still expected it would not be effected. Mason seemed to feel his situation, but declared to the Writer that if they hung him, he was in fault, but that he would die a true and loyal Subject of George the 3d. During the Night, while on Guard, they seriously asked me if they had any hopes;

Well remember serving as Grand Jury Man in 1799, Judge James Iredell¹²⁴ presiding in the U. S. Court when Fries¹²⁵ and the other Insurgents were brought to trial, but as I leave among my papers notes I made or took during the trial, to them refer as they perhaps way be at a future day of some importance.

& I went & spoke with Gen' Wayne, who decidedly told me nothing could save them unless we let them escape, which would involve us in Trouble. I then procured a Bible from Mr. Barclay, and past the Night in Reading to them; Mason was devout, but Ogden was in terror & distress. I got them something to eat, & in the Morning Mason slept a little while. After getting the best Breakfast we could obtain, and Our Troop having crossed the River and joined us, we were ordered to bring out the Spies, & their sentence being again read to them, and their hands secured by a rope, they were led to a Tree nearly back of Calvin's ferry-house, & his Waggon and a Negro pressed to hang them; upon their being brought in the waggon to the Tree, a difficulty occurred for a Rope, when Lieut. Budden saw a New Rope Collar upon the horse my Servant was on, who had just arrived with cloaths, &c., for me from Philad.; with this, the business was soon finished, and before nine, having Orders to return home, we galloped off and left them hanging, & we reached home that evening, after a severe Week in Cold Weather."

The following account of the affair is given by the translator of the Travels in America of the Marquis de Chastellux. In a note on page 51 of the New York edition of 1827, in speaking of the high sense of honour in the American Army, he says; "We all remember, when their intolerable distresses drove part of them to revolt in 1780, when Clinton sent emissaries among them, with the most advantageous offers, and made a movement of his army to favour their desertion, that they disdainfully refused his offers, appealing to their honour, and delivered up with indignation the British emissaries, who were excuted at Trenton. Mr. Hugh Shield and Mr. John Maxwell Nesbitt, two Irish gentlemen settled at Philadelphia, who were entrusted with the care of them, informed the translator that one of them was an officer of some note in the British Army." This person, the translator goes on to say, made an adroit effort to escape, which failed. The narrative is then continued. "'I see, sir,' addressing Mr. Shield, 'that you are faithful to the trust reposed in you, and that my die is cast; but as you are a gentleman, I hope you will not fail to let General Clinton know that my fidelity is unshaken, that I die a faithful subject to George the Third, and that I hope he will not forget my family.' He then made a hearty breakfast of cold beef, and was excuted with his companion on a tree near the river Delaware, full of courage, and making the same declarations. To account for the subordinate situation in which the Messrs. Nesbitt and Shield appear to have acted on this occasion, it is necessary to observe that on all emergencies the merchants of Philadelphia flew to arms and acted as common soldiers."

The above statement differs from the account in the Penna. Archives, 2d S., XI. 660, where it appears from the letter of Col. Matthias Slough that the care of the two spies was "committed to Messrs. *Blair McClennahan* and *Alexander Nesbitt*, who were sent by the Philadelphia Troop for the purpose."

124. JUDGE JAMES IREDELL. (v. "Life and Correspondence of," by G. J. McRees, 1857.)

125. JOHN FRIES. (v. "The Fries Rebellion," by Gen. W. H. H. Davis, 1899. Mr. Conyngham's notes on this trial are not extant.)

Was early acquainted with the late Richard Peters,¹²⁶ Judge of the District Court, knew him when in his father's office before our Revolution. His talents, fun and humorous actions made him an acceptable and desirable companion to and in all parties; his services in our war want no record from my poor pen, but can safely say that few deserved it more, than what will appear for him. General Washington always esteemed him and his family; and I, from a connection in our families, lived in close intimacy with him until his lamented death. Numerous anecdotes, could my memory serve, would show his agreeable ones, but can only occasionally bring them to mind.

There is one of Dan Clymer,¹²⁷ Judge Peters and George Campbell¹²⁸ as lawyers, in one of their circuits at Reading, I believe, but how it ended I cannot recollect. Remember a Mr. Roach from New Bedford entertained by Mr. Nesbitt and a number of friends with the late Clement Biddle¹²⁹ enjoying his (Mr. Nesbitt's) good wine and company. Mr. R. challenged any one to sing the greatest number of verses to the tune of Yankee Doodle, when the Judge took him up, and although Mr. R. had in memory a great number, yet the Judge, making the verses as they went along, kept it up until upwards of forty verses each were sung, and the company called out to stop the singing. Bon mots, puns, etc., can be added by many of his surviving friends and connexions. When Secretary of the Board of War he gave a large dinner to a number of the Generals—Washington, etc.—during which one of the guests who had asked for roast beef or some dish near the Secretary, applied for a second cut, which was sent him at application, being asked "rare,"

126. HON. RICHARD PETERS. (*v.* Appleton Cyc. Am. Biog., IV. 743; Penna. Mag. Hist., XXIII. 205-209; Judge Peters' letter giving his family history, XXV. 366; Keith, 135; Hazard's Register, II. 126, 251-256.)

127. DANIEL C. CLYMER. (*v.* Penna. Mag. Hist., IX. 354; II. 126-251.)

128. GEORGE CAMPBELL. (*v.* Friendly Sons, 103.)

129. CLEMENT BIDDLE. (*v.* "Autobiography of Charles Biddle, 1745-1821," 441.)

he said, "You will soon make it rare enough." A third and perhaps a fourth cut was called for, to which the Secretary made an outcry, "You shall cut, but — you will never come again."

When practicing as a lawyer in 1769 Judge Peters was retained by Col. Eliphalet Dyer¹³⁰ on the side of the Yankees or Connecticut Claimants¹³¹ versus the Pennamites, and a large number having been taken by the Sheriff¹³² of old Northampton and brought down to Easton, the Gaol then being built of logs, could only hold from 20 to 30 persons, and the Judges and Lawyers not knowing what to do with so many demanding daily of the Sheriff bread and quarters, he told me he went among them and advised them to go home, and meeting Colonel E. Dyer, asked him to walk out with him to talk over the business they had in hand, and returning went to the prison, when the Sheriff told them that the whole party of Yankees had gone off. The Court, I understood from him, was well pleased, as the expense was great, and the issue or rate of punishment was uncertain. Colonel Dyer was alarmed, and dreaded his being security for the deserters.

The Judge being one day in a great hurry, and called upon to ask a party to dinner, upon going home and being told that he must go to market and send home a leg of mutton, he went and in a short time sent home five legs of mutton; but the writer has heard him accused of sending home fourteen legs of mutton, or having bought as many. He was never asked to market again.

130. COLONEL ELIPHALET DYER. (*v.* National Cyc. Am. Biog., XI. 172.)

131. This was in 1769, the first Pennamite War, of which Miner gives an account in his *History of Wyoming*, Chapter IX. 103-113, *q. v.*; also *Colonial Rec.* Pa. IX. 588, 602, 626.

132. JOHN JENNINGS, Sheriff of Northampton County, October 5, 1767-1769—November 5, 1777-1778; Justice, November 19, 1764, March 15, 1766, March 9, 1774. (*Pa. Arch.*, 2d S., III. 756, IX. 792-795.) His Deposition respecting Wyoming will be found in *Penna. Arch.*, IV. 342-344.

John Riddle¹³³ was a tailor in Arch, near Third street, and worked for the Judge and others of that standing. How he and the Judge differed I know not, but the Judge has told me that he was determined to have some fun with or satisfaction of Riddle; and being in the habit of hoisting his shoulders, and could readily do this same trick, upon calling upon Riddle to measure him for a coat, he went in and hoisted his right shoulder, and told Riddle to remember to make great allowance for the shape; but when he went to try on the coat he hoisted the left shoulder, and showed Riddle how he was mistaken. Never was a man more astonished; but he declared he was ruined if such a mistake was known, or attributed to him or his inaccuracy, when the Judge let him off by his altering the coat, the shoulders being brought out right. I had this from himself more than once.

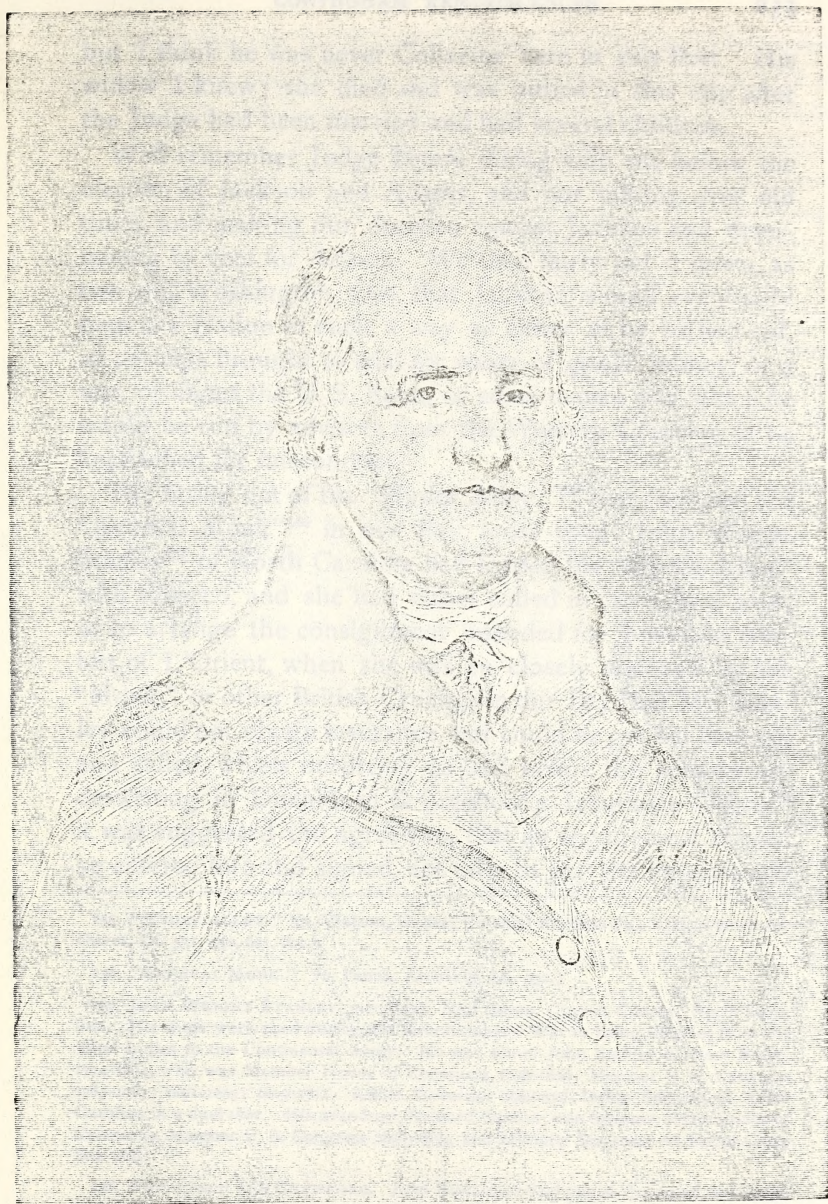
In reading in Watson's "Philadelphia" I find several statements that I could put right, one of which is about Judge Peters. Watson says that the Rev. Richard Peters¹³⁴ was his father, which is a mistake. I knew his Reverence well as a boy. He was Rector of "Christ Church," and was never married or had any family. The father of the Judge, William Peters,¹³⁴ came from Knutsford, in Lancashire, England; was there an Attorney, and the Judge has told me was the first one who gave a brief to Lord Mansfield. He was Register and Recorder in my day, and the Judge acted as Clerk in his office. He went to England and died there,

133. JOHN RIDDLE. "Taylor, 34 Mulberry street," Philadelphia Directory, 1791.

134. RALPH PETERS, of Liverpool, Lancashire, Gent, was a Barrister, Town Clerk of Liverpool, and Sheriff of Lancashire. He had—

i. *William*, admitted to practice Law in London; in practice Philadelphia 1739. (Martin's "Bench and Bar," 301.) He died, England, before 1782. He had Judge Richard Peters, Jr., LL. D. Note 126. Judge Peters was the father of Ralph Peters, whose daughter was the first wife of Edward Rodman Mayer, M. D., the beloved physician of Wilkes-Barré.

ii. *Rev. Richard*, Wadham College, Oxford University, England: matriculated 8th April, 1731, aged 20; D. D. by Diploma 2 May, 1770, then rector of Christ Church and St. Peter's, Philadelphia. (Alumni Oxiensis, Vol. IV. 1102.)



Richard Peters.

but I think he was never Collector here in this Port. His widow I knew; she died and was buried in this city after the Judge had been married and had several children.

Well remember Judge Peters dining with me before the election of Jackson and Adams, and our talking over old times, and making our decision against Jackson and determining to vote for Adams. We then fairly put it down, as two old Washington men, that Jackson would eventually treat the Nation in such a way as either to be turned out, or perhaps brought to trial for waste of public money, or a war, or about the U. S. Bank, or some matter into which he would be run by advisers from the Western Country, or be impeached for misconduct.

The fitting out of the "Hyder Alley,"¹³⁵ that captured the "General Monk"¹³⁶ in our Bay, arose thus: John Wright Stanley¹³⁷ of North Carolina had loaded the "Hyder Alley" with tobacco, and she had either called in here for a crew, or to arrange the consignment intended for Jonathan Nesbitt of L'Orient, when she was so closely watched by the "Monk," or other British Cruizers in our Bay that Mr. Stanley could not obtain insurance, nor could he get her manned and sailed, which occurring as laid before the persons underwriting in Donaldson & Crawford's Insurance Office,¹³⁸ it was suggested and agreed to, that an engagement should be entered into and signed, not only to pay the expense and

135. "HYDER ALLEY." (*v.* Watson, II. 224; Colonial Records Pa., XIII.; Penna. Archives, IX. 531, 532, 621, &c.)

136. "GENERAL MONK." (*v.* Penna. Archives, IX. 532.)

137. JOHN WRIGHT STANLEY, merchant, New Berne, Craven County, North Carolina. His ships were used during the Revolutionary War to bring supplies from the West Indies to the Continental Army. He was son of John Stanley of New Berne, 1774-1834, who was Member House of Commons 1798-1826; Member U. S. Congress 1783-1787; 1801-1803; 1809-1811. Killed Governor Richard Dobbs Spaight of North Carolina in a duel 1802. His grandson, Richard Stanley, was Speaker of the House of Commons, Member U. S. Congress 1837-1853, and Military Governor of North Carolina 1862.

138. DONALDSON AND CRAWFORD. John Donaldson and James Crawford were partners in the Insurance business 1778. (Friendly Sons, 107, 108.)

abide the loss, but that the "Hyder Alley" should be armed, equipped and fitted to drive off all small Cruiziers, and to capture and destroy such as could be taken. The alteration, landing cargo and equipment was given to Mr. Stanley and John Wilcocks,¹³⁹ and our subscription was paid too, and on capture of the "Monk" we received it back except for the 4-lb. shot, which I well recollect the delivery of from our stores. The "Monk" was captured April 8, 1782.

Captain Joshua Barney¹⁴⁰ was appointed Commander, and so secretly was the business managed that but few knew that the "Hyder Alley" had sailed until the news of the capture of the "General Monk" came to town. I saw the ships at Willing's wharf, and the blood was running from the scuppers of the English ship, whose capture was a glorious one for our merchants, and cleared our Bay from large and small British Cruiziers. I have heard it said that besides the resolution and bravery of the "Bold Barney," as he was called, he gained an advantage by agreeing and directing his officers and crew to receive the word of command given by him with his trumpet, "Boarders and Boarders, prepare," and again, "Boarders, do your duty," which was meant to "fire and keep close," and which, as they neared the "Monk," the officers of that ship prepared to repel boarding, when the shot from the "Hyder Alley," then close up, killed and wounded so many that the blood ran from the scuppers, and she was forced to strike to Bold Barney and his gallant crew. The "Monk" was purchased by the United States, and the command given to Captain Barney, as a Packet and Cruzier on voyages to France, and the "Hyder Alley" again was loaded and went to Europe safely.

Also well recollects the fitting out of the ship "Shille-

139. JOHN WILCOCKS, probably John Wilcocks, merchant, 30 North 3d St., 1791.

140. CAPT. JOSHUA BARNEY. (*v. Nat. Cyc. Am. Biog.*, IV. 167.)

lah,"¹⁴¹ Captain Holmes;¹⁴² thinks she was the handsomest ship he ever saw; was built by Thomas Penrose,¹⁴³ pierced for 24 guns, which were on board when she lay off Market street, but, as one of the owners, I understood they were to be put in flats above New Castle, but the Captain, and John Donaldson and James Crawford refused, supposing they would make prizes on their voyage to l'Orient, but she never arrived nor was heard of. Our loss was heavy.

Passengers: 2d Officer Lieutenant Barber,¹⁴⁴ J. Benezett,¹⁴⁵ William Erskin,¹⁴⁶ William Lardner,¹⁴⁷ Colonel Palfrey,¹⁴⁸

141. Ship "SHILLELAH" sailed from the Delaware December, 1780. No other mention of her has been found except that in a Sketch of Colonel William Palfrey, of which see Note No. 148.

142. CAPTAIN HOLMES. In 1780 Captain Holmes was commander of the ship "Charming Polly," 18 guns, and the brig "Telegraph," 18 guns.

143. THOMAS PENROSE, "Ship Carpenter, 108 South Wharves, 27 and 36 Swanson St., 85 Penn St.," Philadelphia, 1791. Was employed by the Executive Council July, 1776, with Arthur Donaldson, to fix the piers near Fort Island, &c. (Col. Rec., X. 648.)

144. LIEUTENANT BARBER, unknown.

145. J. BENEZET. John or James Benezet, Philadelphia; alive 1780; dead 1781, as per Philadelphia Tax Lists. Penna. Archives, 3d S. (v. Note 51, p. 211.)

146. WILLIAM ERSKINE, merchant of Philadelphia; native of Ireland; Member Friendly Sons of St. Patrick 1780. (v. Hist. Friendly Sons, 110.) "He died about the end of the year 1781. He was lost at sea." No mention is made in the brief sketch, of the vessel in which he was lost. Will probated January 5, 1782. Names William West, John Donaldson and J. M. Nesbitt executors. Names also his mother, Mary Erskine, of Muff, near Derry, Ireland, brother John, sisters Mary, Sarah, Elizabeth, and aunt Jane Reed.

147. WILLIAM LARDNER was a taxable, Mulberry Ward, Philadelphia, 1779-1781, but dead 1781; probably he was the one who was lost at sea.

148. COLONEL WILLIAM PALFREY, born Boston February 24, 1741; died December, 1780; an enthusiastic patriot; Major and Aide de Camp to General Charles Lee July 16, 1775; Lieutenant Colonel and Aide de Camp to General Washington March 6, 1776; Lieutenant Colonel and Paymaster General April 27, 1776; U. S. Consul General to France November 4, 1780. No sketch appears of him except in Sparks' Am. Biog., 1848, 2d S., pp. 335-448, which states that "on the 20th of December, 1780, he went down to Chester, Pa., to embark on board the Shillalah, an armed ship of sixteen guns. On the 23d he put on shore, at Wilmington, a few lines of farewell to his family. This was the last of William Palfrey. The Shillalah was never heard of after she left the Capes. Barlow has some lines in the "Columbiad" (Bk. I. line 627) referring to the supposed manner of his loss, beginning

"Say, Palfrey, brave, good man, was this thy doom," &c.

and I believe his son,¹⁴⁹ and William Gorman, servant to Mr. Benezett. The Shillalah sailed December, 1780.

Went from Cork to Bordeaux in the brig "Bacchus," Captain Sullivan, in 1784, and was received by Mr. Delap¹⁵⁰ and lodged in his house on the Chartron; passed, by advice of Mr. Delap, the summer at Clairac, a town situated at the meeting of the Lotte with the Garonne, about 15 leagues above Bordeaux, abounding in Huguenots, and fruits, say peaches, grapes, plums, prepared there in abundance, in ovens, for prunes, as exported. In November went to Paris, and as usual with strangers, saw the curiosities of that great city; among others, or first, King Louis, the 15th; Louis 16th, then Dauphin; Louis 18th, or Monsieur; Charles 10th, then Count D'Artoix. Went over to England by Havre de Grâce, Dieppe and Calais, and stopped at the Devill Tavern in London, and being called off thence by accounts and letters from Dublin that his father was ill there, went off by post chaise and crossed at Hollyhead, when he found that his father had recovered. Remembers when in England he saw George, the King, and Queen Charlotte, George, Prince of Wales, 4th King.

Went to Portugal from Falmouth in the Packet, passing in his way by Plymouth, Exeter, and the route from London. Saw the King and Queen of Portugal,¹⁵¹ also Pedro and his Infanta, after King and Queen, being uncle and niece, being married by a Bull from the Pope.

Saw in England the King of Denmark¹⁵² on a visit, also Pascal Paoli of Corsica.¹⁵³ Joseph, the 2d Emperor of Aus-

149. This must be an error. The sketch of Colonel Palfrey in Sparks' American Biography was written by the son of Colonel Palfrey, who makes no mention of any other member of his family having been lost in the Shillalah.

150. DELAP, one of the firm of Samuel and J. Hans Delap, merchants, Bordeaux.

151. JOSEPH EMMANUEL, and Dom Pedro III. and his wife Maria I., daughter of Joseph and niece of Pedro.

152. CHRISTIERN VII., 1749-1808.

153. PASCAL PAOLI, 1726-1807, the Corsican hero, a pensioner of England after 1770.

tria, travelled incognito, as Count of Lichtenstein; saw him in Bordeaux. In the year 1775, being on business in Holland, saw the "Stadholder"¹⁵⁴ and the present King of Holland,¹⁵⁵ as Prince of Orange. Was personally acquainted with Louis Philippe, present King of France, as Duke of Orleans, who stayed four days in my house on his arrival here.¹⁵⁶ Thinks he once saw King William of England, as an officer in the British Navy.

He was also acquainted with, or could say that he had shaken hands with most, if not all, of the members of Congress who signed the Declaration of Independence. He has shaken hands with six generations in two respectable families in this city.

Was in habits of intimacy and social intercourse with General Washington and family during their residence in Philadelphia, and received his thanks in Jersey, at Somerset Court House, by General Moylan,¹⁵⁷ as a member of the 1st City Troop of Horse, and particularly and personally the same from him at Carlisle, Penna., when he left his station and gave them to me as having marched under his call and orders on the Western Expedition.

Was told on the street that a person passing by was Joseph Bonaparte, King of Spain. Saw Jerome Bonaparte when in this country—several times the King of Westphalia.

Well remember and was at the Ball given by the Chevalier de Luzerne¹⁵⁸ [July 15, 1782] on the birth of the Dauphin, son of Louis 16th. Knew the Marquis Fayette¹⁵⁹ well,

154. WILLIAM, V.

155. LEOPOLD, King of Belgium, made King of Holland 1831.

156. LOUIS PHILIPPE. (*v.* Note 201.)

157. GENERAL STEPHEN MOYLAN of Pennsylvania, Aide de Camp to General Washington 1776. (*v.* Heitman, 303; *Nat. Cyc. Am. Biog.*, I. 56.)

158. CHEVALIER DE LA LUZERNE. (*v.* Sketch by Hon. E. L. Dana, the fullest ever published, *Proceedings Wyoming Hist.-Geolog. Soc.*, VI. 69-96; Watson, I. 104, 377; Westcott, 855, 922; Stone's "Our French Allies," 1884, 505-508, speaks of the Ball at length.)

159. LA FAYETTE (*v.* "Marquis de La Fayette in the American Revolution," Towers, 1895.)

and at his desire I gave a party to the officers of the French Army during their stay on their route to Yorktown. Count Rochambeau¹⁶⁰ refused to attend, but Count Chastellux¹⁶¹ alludes to it in his "Book of Travels." Was well acquainted with the Duke of Lauzun,¹⁶² the Counts Dillon¹⁶³ (old and young), the Duke de Enghien,¹⁶⁴ then known by "Prince Gimini," and, as before, Chastellux and others, and, in fact, with all or most all of the French officers.

Was at a Ball given by Captain Latouche,¹⁶⁵ on board the frigate "Hermione," off the Drawbridge Wharf;¹⁶⁷ went off in boats and flats, and had a most agreeable and pleasant dance and entertainment.

Was intimate and in confidence with Dr. Franklin and Silas Deane when in Paris, having visited that city with Captain Gustavus Conyngham,¹⁶⁸ and obtained jointly with William Hodge¹⁶⁹ the commission for him to sail as commander of the cutter "Revenge," for which Mr. William Hodge was put in the Bastille, and I escaped under the pass of Count de Vergennes¹⁷⁰ to carry despatches to Nancy for schooner "Jeniser,"¹⁷¹ Captain Hammond, that was lost and never heard of after she sailed.

160. COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU. (v. "The French in America," Balch, 213; "Our French Allies," Stone, 521; "Marins et Soldat Francaise en Amérique," &c., de Noailles, 1903, 141-251.)

161. CHEVALIER DE CHASTELLUX. (v. Balch, 77-79; Chastellux "Travels in North America," 1780-1782, New York, 1828, 9-10.)

162. DUKE DE LAUZUN. (v. Balch, 160-163.)

163. COUNTS DE DILLON. (v. Balch, 102-104.)

164. DUKE DE ENGHIEU, 1772-1804. (v. Larousse Biog. Dic., VII. 572.)

165. LA TOUCHE-TREVILLE, 1745-1804, commanded the Frigate "Hermione," in which, 1780, he brought back to America, Lafayette and other officers. He attained the rank of Vice Admiral 1801. The "Hermione" under him engaged in several brilliant actions. She accompanied the Viscount de Rochambeau to France October, 1780. (v. Balch, 239-240; "Marins et Soldat Francais en Amerique," 1903, 173, &c.)

167. DRAWBRIDGE WHARF. (v. Ritter, 40; Watson, I. 336.)

168. (v. Note 10, p. 197.)

169. CAPTAIN WILLIAM HODGE, JR. (v. Note 232.)

170. CHARLES GRAVIER VERGENNES, Count de, 1717-1787.

171. SCHOONER JENISER, unknown.

The first Flag or Stripes¹⁷² had been hoisted up the British Channel by Captain G. Conyngham when he captured the "Harwich" Packet.

The death of Stephen Girard¹⁷³ has occasioned a great agitation in our city, and not without great reason. I believe I am the only old or first acquaintance he had here. I remember his arriving in a sloop or schooner from Charleston in 1779 or 1780; he had letters to Ramsey and Coxe,¹⁷⁴ our next door neighbours, and from them or from Lawrence & Morris,¹⁷⁵ was applied to assist Stephen Girard to sail for Charleston from the want of provisions, and having some beef and pork in the cellar on same account as the supply mentioned by me as given to General Washington, spared him some barrels, for which I can say we are not paid to this day.

His funeral was uncommonly large; and his success being greater than could generally attend merchants, I add to his character my belief that he was worthy thereof in every respect.

Remembers, December 4, 1779, being married at White-marsh on Saturday. The month being cold and wind N. E. Friday was dark and heavy and cold. Sunday, the 5th, snow began and continued falling until Monday, after which he went out and passed over fences and ravines (the places that are now turnpikes and frequently travelled), back and forward to the city, and until March 13th never saw earth or ground, the snow and ice being firm.¹⁷⁶

Thinks he can well recollect the rejoicing for the success

172. FLAG OF STRIPES. (*v.* Jones' "Captain Gustavus Conyngham," who thinks this was the rattlesnake flag.) As one of the executors of Captain Conyngham, D. H. Conyngham presented this flag to the State of Pennsylvania. It once hung over the Speaker's chair in the Hall of the Pennsylvania Assembly. Dr. Egle sought for it in vain.

173. STEPHEN GIRARD died December 26, 1831, aged 84. (*v.* Appleton's Cyc. Am. Biog.; National Cyc. Am. Biog., VII. 11; Ritter, 71, 143.)

174. RAMSEY & COXE, 92 or 98 Front St.; not in Ritter.

175. LAWRENCE & MORRIS, not in Ritter.

176. WATSON gives no account of this fourteen weeks of snow, II. 347-369.

or capture of Cape Breton¹⁷⁷ (or peace of 1763) from the circumstances of a stage off Market street wharf, having stuffed apparent bodies of men, being blown up into the water with gunpowder, which we as boys rejoiced and shouted at.

Although very young, remembers the troops returning after Braddock's defeat; Colonel Dunbar,¹⁷⁸ Colonel Leslie,¹⁷⁹ and particularly Captain John Conyngham,¹⁸⁰ being wounded in his arm, lodged with my father, and I have often talked with him, when under his care at school at Mr. Brady's, William street, Dublin (he my Guardian).

A horse that had been saved and used to the drum had nearly hurt my mother when driving him in a chaise, by

177. CAPE BRETON was re-ceded to England by France, 1763.

178. COLONEL THOMAS DUNBAR. (*v.* History Braddock's Expedition, Sargent, 267.)

179. CAPTAIN MATTHEW LESLIE. (*v.* *idem*, 243.)

180. CAPTAIN JOHN CONYNGHAM of Cranford, grandson of Adam Conyngham of Cranford, who died 1749, who was brother of Captain David Conyngham of Letterkenny. He was a cousin to David H. Conyngham, Captain of H. M. 63d Regiment, serving with Braddock, probably on leave of absence. He was severely wounded in the action of July 9, 1755. His name does not appear in the List of Officers published in Sargent's History of Braddock's Expedition. But the author especially notes his presence (p. 243) thus, after describing the rescue of Captain Treby of the 44th by Mr. Farrell of his company:

"And equally magnanimous was the enthusiastic bravery of the men of Captain John Conyngham's Company. At the first fire his horse was shot down and he himself severely wounded. Falling beneath the animal's body, all his efforts to extricate himself would have been in vain had not his soldiers, 'for the love they bore him,' rushed to his relief; and while many of their number were shot dead in the attempt, succeeded finally in bearing him in triumph from the spot." Mr. Sargent derives his knowledge of this incident from a letter written by Captain Matthew Leslie of the 44th, which is given below. He adds: "In 1763 there was no one of this name in either the 44th or the 48th regiment; but in 1765 a John Conyngham appears as Lieutenant Colonel 29th Foot, date of commission February 13, 1762, and a John Conyngham as Captain in the 7th Foot, October 15, 1759." As there were two of the name, father and son, it is difficult to determine which one was with Braddock. Captain John of Cranford of H. M. 63d Regiment is referred to by his uncle, Rev. William Conyngham, in a letter to his nephew, Lord Plunket, in 1778, and his son, Captain John of H. M. 43d Regiment, was A. D. C. to General Sir Charles Grey at the taking of the West India Islands 1762, where he distinguished himself and received the special thanks of his Commander-in-Chief.

The following letter from Captain Matthew Leslie to a responsible merchant of Philadelphia, supposed to be Redmond Conyngham, is from Hazard's Register, V. 191:

Captain Matthew Leslie to ——. "July 30, 1755. Dear Sir: You have heard the disastrous termination of our expedition, with the loss of our General and most of

attempting to join the drummer and his party in Market street. Horse was presented to my father or lent on the occasion for a ride.

Remembers well the approach and threats in 1764 of the Paxtang Boys¹⁸¹ to murder the Indians who were lodged in the wings or rooms of the State House (now public offices); has often been up there and seen them in their natural habits. Companies were formed and paraded to resist the attempt, and Captain Bradford's¹⁸² Company, Lieutenant Joseph Wharton,¹⁸³ was admitted by the friends into the Quaker meeting, then at the corner of Second and Market streets, for shelter, it raining very hard, and upon an alarm being giving that they were coming into town,

the army. What could bravery accomplish against such an attack, as sudden as it was unexpected? The yell of the Indians is fresh on my ear, and the terrific sound will haunt me until the time of my dissolution. I cannot describe the horrors of the scene; no pen could do it, and no painter could delineate it so as to convey to you with any accuracy our unhappy situation. Our friend, Captain John Conyngham, is severely wounded; his horse fell on the first fire, and before he could be disengaged from the animal, which had fallen on him, received a wound on his arm; and his life was saved by the enthusiasm of his men, who, seeing his danger, rushed between the savages and him and carried him in triumph from the spot. I need not tell you that the Captain is indebted for his life to the love his men had for him. Many had sacrificed their lives before he could be extricated from the horse. If you have an opportunity please to communicate the sad intelligence to our friends in Ireland. Tell them I live, but that my feelings have been dreadfully wounded. To tell you what I did I cannot; suffice it I acted as all brave men placed like me in a similar situation would act. We have lost gallant officers and generous friends, not in battle, for that we could bear, but by murder, by savage butchery. The French dared not openly meet us; ours is the loss, theirs the disgrace. When we meet I will give you the particulars. Captain Conyngham is doing well. I hope we shall soon be under your hospitable roof in Philadelphia.

"With great regard, your distressed friend,

LESLIE."

Captain Leslie, "Matthew Lesley, Gent, Assistant Qm. G." (Gentlemen's Mag.), was probably a relative of Mr. Conyngham. The Rt. Rev. John Leslie, the Bishop of Raphoe, married Katherine, fourth daughter of Alexander Conyngham, Dean of Raphoe, and the descendants intermarried, and it was probably to Mr. Conyngham's home he went on his return to Philadelphia.

Captain Conyngham returned to Dublin, where in 1767 and 1768 he was the Guardian of David H. Conyngham during the latter's attendance on his studies in connexion with the University of Dublin.

181. PAXTANG BOYS. (*v.* Egle's Hist. Dauphin Co., Pa., pp. 59-78; Col. Rec. Pa., vol. IX; Watson, II. 167; Graydon, 46-50; Westcott, 240-1.)

182. CAPT. WILLIAM BRADFORD, 1719-1791. (*v.* N. Y. Bio.-Gen. Rec., IV. 185-186; Pa. Arch., 2d S., 179.)

183. LIEUT. JOSEPH WHARTON. (*v.* Pa. Mag. Hist., I. 457.)

Captain Ben. Loxley¹⁸⁴ of the Artillery had his fusee lighted and was ready to fire, but it proved to be Captain Hoffman's¹⁸⁵ Company or Troop of Horse.

Mounted guard at the old Battery, now Navy Yard, 1772, when it was supposed that the "Gaspee"¹⁸⁶ British schooner, or King's schooner, was coming up, and seeing a vessel come round the point, turned out the guard, having stood sentinel two hours at the Schuylkill gun,¹⁸⁷ being a soldier in Captain John Cadwalader's Company of green light Infantry or Silk Stockings.¹⁸⁸

Bringing down my reminiscences, or rather occurrences, to January, 1832, have to observe that the winter set in with uncommon severity and earlier than usual; snow, sleet and severe cold prevailed, and our river was filled with ice and the country covered with snow. It, however, had begun to give way, and a partial opening for navigation has taken place, January 24th.

News has come from Wilkes-Barre of an uncommon ice fresh,¹⁸⁹ such as has not happened for 50 years; great damage is known to be done to bridges, etc., and much dread still of further accounts. Shall suspend my writing until more and fuller intelligence reaches us. Well recollect the fresh on the Schuylkill,¹⁹⁰ when the colt was taken out of the house of Mr. Ogden, southeast corner of the permanent bridge; the damage was great, but much fear the present ones will be greater in the Susquehanna.

184. CAPT. BENJAMIN LOXLEY. (*v.* Watson, III. 266; Graydon (1846), 47.)

185. CAPT. — HOFFMAN, unknown.

186. "GASPEE." (*v.* Lossing, I. 628-630.)

187. SCHUYLKILL GUN. (*v.* "History of the Schuylkill Fishing Co., &c., 1732-1888," pp. 300-321.)

188. SILK STOCKING CO. (*v.* Note 9, p. 196.)

189. WILKES-BARRE ICE FLOOD, 1832. There is no record of this flood. Pearce mentions the flood of January, 1831, and May, 1833. Ice floods have been common on the Susquehanna. The great floods that have done most damage occurred in 1784, 1786, 1807, 1865 and 1902. These were historic in their severity; that of 1865 was the highest, and that of 1902 did the most damage.

190. SCHUYLKILL FLOOD. (*v.* Watson, II. 366-368.)

My reminiscences occurring daily can only place them as they occur. The present Duchess of Sussex¹⁹¹ was at an Assembly then held in Lodge Alley,¹⁹² now by the Bank of Pennsylvania; danced in a contre dance with them. Mr. John Ingliss¹⁹³ was usher. She was the daughter of Lord Dunmore. Lady Dunmore was with her.

Remember the Ball given to General Washington at Oeller's Hotel,¹⁹⁴ or Swanwick's Tavern,¹⁹⁵ one of the most excellent in very respect.

Remembers skating to and from Gloucester Point several times as a boy, and an attempt made to go up to Burlington, but could not succeed, owing to the breaks at different places; but was told that General Cadwalader had left Burlington and brought a loaf of bread warm from thence to Philadelphia, he being on skates. He (General Cadwalader), Governor Mifflin and Samuel Massey were the best skaters in my boyhood.¹⁹⁶

Went several times in 1779-80 on the ice at the Drawbridge, and in sleighs to Gloucester Point. Remembers that at least two oxen¹⁹⁷ or more were roasted on the ice, and ruts were made of several inches deep, carrying wood and marketing across from Jersey.

191. JOHN MURRAY, 4th Earl of Dunmore, 1732-1809, Governor of Virginia 1772-1777, married, February 21, 1759, Charlotte Stewart, daughter of Alexander, Sixth Earl of Galloway. Their second daughter, Augusta de Ameland, married, Rome, Italy, April 4, 1793, Prince Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex, and was re-married to the same December 5, 1793, at St. George's Church, Hanover Square. By an Act of Parliament the marriage was so far invalid as to cut off its issue from a right of succession to the throne.

192. LODGE ALLEY, on the west side of Second street, between Chestnut and Walnut streets.

193. JOHN INGLISS, one of the firm of Willing, Inglis and Morris, 1778-1783. He died September 15, 1783. In March, 1759, he was appointed one of the Commissioners to settle the accounts of the Expedition against Fort Duquesne. (Col. Rec. Pa., VIII. 323.)

194. OELLERS' HOTEL, the "King of Poland Hotel," kept by Philip Oellers, Vine street, between Fifth and Sixth. (Watson, III. 345.)

195. SWANWICK'S TAVERN, not in Watson or Wescott.

196. SKATING. Graydon says, p. 60: "The two reputed best skaters of my day were General [John] Cadwalader and Massey, the biscuit baker."

197. OX ROAST. (v. Graydon, foot note, p. 60.)

Well remembers when Negro slaves were brought from Africa, and Captain Badger (and others not recollected) had them over at Cooper's ferry in Jersey, where houses on the shore were built to keep them in daytime, when the schooner or vessels lay off; a railing or pens were run into the water to keep those allowed to swim from running off, and knew and remembers several bought from those cruel merchants.

Remembers the Negro Burial Ground,¹⁹⁸ now improved into Washington Square; a spring then in it used to give us minnows or small fish to go out to the Schuylkill to fish with as boys. A piece of wood marked one grave as follows:

"Here lies Dinah, Sambo Wife
Sambo lub him like he Life
Dinah died 3 weeks agoe
Sambo Massa tell he so."

Some others and even memorials of strangers were there, but the writer cannot remember them.

In continuing my reminiscences, how a connexion with Walter Stewart,¹⁹⁹ afterwards General in the American Army, came about, and will perhaps furnish the best historial facts relative to him with exception of those in field of battle. My father Redmond Conyngham, then of Letterkenny, Ireland, knowing my apprenticeship would end in 1772, agreed with the mother and friends of Mr. Stewart that he should come out as apprentice to the house of Conyngham, Nesbitt & Co., which actually took place during my voyage to Europe before designated. His character, handsome appearance, etc., not only secured him friends, but on the breaking out of the troubles with England were enhanced by his taking a decided part in favour of America, and he was one of

¹⁹⁸ NEGRO BURIAL GROUND, then a part of "Potter's Field," now "Washington Square." (*v.* Westcott, 2356.)

¹⁹⁹ COLONEL WALTER STEWART. (*v.* Note 86).

the first in Captain Cadwalader's Company,²⁰⁰ and proved an uniform and steady one, opposed to British Tyranny. His active conduct procured him a commission in the Army, and on the calling out a Battalion, he got the command of a Regiment, I think the 2d Pennsylvania, serving with honour, beloved by all the Army, and particularly by General Washington. I shall now refer to my meeting him on furlough at Norfolk, when I was driven on shore by the enemy. He always quartered with us at Mr. Nesbitt's house, and many pleasant and alarming days we have spent together.

Leaving the campaign, etc., of the Army, I shall come round to the time that General Stewart was married to Mr. McClenachan's²⁰¹ daughter. Mr. McClenachan was supposed to be a rich and successful speculator in Privateers, etc., from whom I believe we did receive large supplies, not only for support, but at the peace of 1783 to enable him to enter a mercantile engagement with Alexander Nesbitt,²⁰² a brother of John M. Nesbitt, by which connexion our houses were led into many engagements.

My feelings for and trust in the honour and real friendship of Walter Stewart was shown him through life, and I had his hand in mine when he died, and took his wife out of the room; old Mr. Stamper²⁰³ being then present.

Having mentioned the fact of Louis Philippe²⁰⁴ being one of my acquaintances, will state the cause and means that led thereto.

200. CAPTAIN CADWALADER'S COMPANY. (*v.* Note 9, p. 96.)

201. BLAIR MCCLENACHAN. (*v.* Friendly Sons, 126; Simpson, 736.)

202. ALEXANDER NESBITT. (*v.* Note 67.)

203. STAMPER, probably Henry Stamper, mariner, 39 Catherine street, 1791.

204. LOUIS PHILIPPE, 1730-1850. King of France 1830-1848; fled to America under a Danish passport as L. P. B. Orleans and arrived in Philadelphia October 21, 1796. He paid 35 guineas for his passage. (*v.* Westcott, 485; Watson, I. 555; Abbott's History of Louis Philippe, 1899, and Grand Dictionnaire Universel du XIX Siecle, Larousse, 2, 438.)

Our ship "America,"²⁰⁵ Captain Ewing, being expected from Hamburg, October, 1796, the writer with some friend, was in the usual habit of walking down to where the Navy Yard now is, and seeing a ship come round the point, it grew near dark, but followed her up, and along the wharf was told it was Captain Ewing, who anchored his ship off Walnut street, and upon coming up there some one told him that I was there; when Captain Ewing heard it he ran up to me, and took me to one side, telling me he had the Duke of Orleans as a passenger, saying he did not know where to take him to lodge, as he, the Duke, objected to going to any public tavern, or lodging house, upon which I asked him to introduce us to one another. Upon my speaking to him in French he seemed quite delighted and seemed to ask my protection. Assuring him that he had nothing to fear, but that, if he would accept a room and bed in my house, I offered it to him willingly, and fixing that his servant should also be accommodated. I was walking off with him when he, in a feeling manner, told me had promised not to part with a young Frenchman whose name I forgot; but again told him I would have him accommodated for the night, and walked up with him to our house in Front street, where my family received him, and his stay with us was some days. After sending him in the morning to the French Minister, Mr. Fauchet,²⁰⁶ and on his return from the visit in my carriage, he told me he was pleased and secure as he thought from any insult. I remember his stay here, his visiting in my family, and when his brothers arrived they dined with me, and were always social and intimate. The youngest of

205. SHIP "AMERICA," Captain Ewing, owned by Conyngham & Nesbitt, commanded probably by James Ewing. The only account book of Conyngham & Nesbitt extant is a Journal, beautifully kept, from June, 1790, to March, 1797. It shows the "America" in commission 1795; names James Ewing, but unfortunately does not reach late enough to cover Louis Philippe's arrival.

206. FAUCHET, Jean Antoine Joseph. (*v.* Appleton's Cyc. Am. Biog., II. 421.)

them, Beaujolais,²⁰⁷ has told me anecdotes of Madame Genlis,²⁰⁸ under whose care they were educated as boys, but memory will not serve to repeat them.

Count Montjolie²⁰⁹ came out passenger in another voyage, and can nowhere find that he paid his passage (30 guineas), returned to us unpaid by Captain Ewing. Talon²¹⁰ went passenger in the "America" to Hamburg; remembers seeing him on board that ship, and the Captain and crew were much pleased with him. Remembers Tallyrand²¹¹ when here. Dined with him at John Mifflin's.²¹² Mr. Madison,²¹³ Mr. Giles²¹⁴ and some other members of Congress in company, which, I well recollect, passed off rather sombre. Having made an acquaintance with him there, I was applied

207. BEAUJOLAIS (Louis Charles D'Orleans, comte De). Larousse says, under Louis Philippe, 10, 718: "Il se fixa a Philadelphie, ou ses freres, les ducs de Montpensier et de Beaujolais vinrent le rejoindre." (v. Larousse under Montpensier and Beaujolais; also Watson's Annals, II. 132-135.)

208. GENLIS (Stephanie-Félicité-Ducrest-de Saint Aubin comtess De) "femme de lettres, institutrice du roi Louis Philippe." (v. Larousse, 8, 1162-1163.)

209. MARQUIS DE MONTJOYE, or Montjoie, not Montjolie. In a letter from General James Wilkinson to Captain Guion, at Natchez, Miss., dated Pittsburg, Pa., January 2, 1798, and published in Claiborne's "Mississippi as a Province, Territory and State," 1880, I. 194, I find this reference to this gentleman:

"I send this letter by the Marquis de Mountjoye, an exiled noble of France of high rank. He has been a professional soldier and has greatly interested me with the details of his military life. He attended the Duke of Orleans and his brother, who are bound, I understand, to New Orleans to seek a passage to the Havana, from whence they expect to go under convoy to Spain to join their mother, who has escaped to that Kingdom."

210. TALON, Antoine Omer, born Paris January 20, 1760; died in France. He was one of the founders of Asylum, Bradford county, Pennsylvania. Very interesting accounts of him will be found in Proceedings of the Wyoming Hist.-Geolog. Society, Vols. V. 75-110, and VIII. 47-86; also in "The Story of Some French Refugees and their 'Azilum,' 1793-1800," by Mrs. L. W. Murray, Athens, Pa., 1903, pp. 14-50.

211. TALLYRAND (Prince De Bénévent), statesman and diplomat. (v. Larousse, 14, 1419-1422.) He arrived in America February, 1794, with La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, and returned to France September 4, 1785,

212. JOHN MIFFLIN. (v. Note 57, probably John F. Mifflin.)

213. JAMES MADISON. (v. Appleton's Cyc. Am. Biog., IV. 165.)

214. WILLIAM BRANCH GILES, seventh Governor of Virginia. (v. National Cyc. Am. Biog., V. 447.)

to shortly after by a Mr. Vail,²¹⁵ a Frenchman from Hispaniola, who was going to Hamburg in a brig consigned to Ross and Simpson, the "Two Friends" or "Two Brothers," but the Bill of Lading in our book will show it. His request was how to send securely his own and Talleyrand's papers to Europe in safety, and we recommended him to let us ship for him five hogsheads of tobacco suitable for the Hamburg market, and being shipped by us to order, on our endorsement or order they would be his on arrival. This being agreed to, we had the tobacco put in our cellar, and then he, Talleyrand, Vail and some others had their papers put in tin cases and we had them put into the middle of one the hogsheads of tobacco, a square place in the middle of them being cut out by our coopers, and they arrived safely at Hamburg, so that Mr. Talleyrand, as well as Louis Philippe, owes me for favours which he said in talking of an estate in Champagne, he would send me for the claret he drank while staying with me.

Still continuing my reminiscences, that the Privateer "Hero"²¹⁶ was built in a very short time, commanded by

215. AARON VAIL, United States Consul at L'Orient, France, 1790-1813. He was associated with John Fitch in the latter's steamboat enterprise. In an agreement between the two dated March 16, 1791, he called himself "Aaron Vail of the Kingdom of France, but at present in the City of Philadelphia, in the United States of America, Merchant." (Life of John Fitch, 320; Watson, III. 445.) Fitch in his will, June 25, 1798, makes "Eliza Vale, Daughter of Aaron Vale, Consul of the United States at L'Orient," one of his legatees.

Vail died at L'Orient, France, 1813. His widow made application to the 18th Congress for money expended by him in the discharge of his Consular duties, with adverse result. This claim was pressed by his heirs to six successive Congresses, with final favorable report April 13, 1842, passed and approved May 10, 1842. The Report of the House, 26th Congress, states that "The claimants' ancestor was consul of United States at L'Orient, France, until he died there in 1813. While in office he drew upon officers of United States for money from time to time to defray charges of destitute seamen, and he now stands charged with \$6,305.69 balance of such moneys unaccounted for by him."

Justice prevailed, however, and in 1842 his claim was recognized and settled. Aaron Vail, Jr., doubtless his son, was in 1842 Chief Clerk of the War Department of the United States. Aaron Vail was also Secretary of Legation, Great Britain, 1831 and 1836, and Chargé d'Affaires 1832. (v. Lanman's Dictionary of Congress; Poore's Catalogue, and U. S. Public Documents, 655, 744.)

216. PRIVATEER "HERO." Letter of Marque, commissioned August, 1762. (v. Pa. Arch., 2d S., ii. 630.)

Captain Appower,²¹⁷ owned by Willing and Morris,²¹⁸ made a short cruize in 1762-1763; had some success, but the peace took place, and she was sent to Amsterdam for passengers, and brought some in here; also Captain McPherson²¹⁹ in the "Britannia,"²²⁰ who was very successful, and heard of several of his prizes, falling in with a number of Bermudean "Flags of truce," as they were called, he brought them in and made them pay for a trade they carried on with Hispaniola. This was the French War ended in 1763.

Remembers two vessels built by David Franks,²²¹ a merchant of this city, of logs, planks, etc. One of them broke up at sea, but one, I think, arrived safely in England; but I think heavy loss attended the experiment. They were built and fitted at Kensington.

Recollects a boat built by a Mr. Fitch²²² that went round Petty's Island and back, propelled by paddles or oars forced by a machine on board. This was earlier than ever was attempted by steam in my remembrance.

217. CAPTAIN SAMUEL APPOWER, or Appowen, commissioned August, 1762. (*id.* 630.)

218. WILLING AND MORRIS. Thomas Willing and Robert Morris. (Of Willing *v.* Simpson, sketch by Thomas Balch, Esq., 960; also Penna. Mag. Hist., V. 452-455, and Griswold's Republican Court, 17; Watson, III. 448.)

219. CAPTAIN JOHN MACPHERSON of Mount Pleasant, opposite Belmont. (*v.* Westcott, 253, 302-303, &c.)

220. SHIP "BRITANNIA." Letter of Marque commissioned October 30, 1762 (*v.* Pa. Arch., 2d S., ii. 630), twenty guns. Westcott says, p. 253: "She met with no success" in 1757, but in 1758, "after a long and fruitless cruise, came up with a well-manned French frigate of thirty-six guns, and a desperate battle ensued, in which the 'Britannia' was worsted, losing all her officers and seventy of her crew, her cannon, masts and ammunition, and left to drift a helpless and shattered hulk to Jamaica."

221. DAVID FRANKS. (*v.* Sabine's Loyalists, I. 444; Keith, 136.)

222. JOHN FITCH, the inventor of the steamboat. (*v.* "Life of John Fitch," by Westcott, 1857.) This incident was the first trial by Fitch of his invention on the Delaware River, May, 1787, and is the first statement of the extent of the trial. The "Life of Fitch" states, p. 192: "The boat was tried near the place where it was built. * * It went but slowly, however." No intimation is given as to "where it went." Conyngnam states that it "went round Petty's Island," that is it started at Kensington, where it was built, steamed around Petty's Island, opposite Kensington, and near the New Jersey shore, and returned to its starting place. Fitch's second trial with his boat was made July 26, 1788, when it steamed as far as Burlington, N. J., and dropped backed with the tide to Kensington. (*id.* p. 250.)

Dr. Kearsley²²³ was carted by the mob in September, 1775, and saw him afterwards severely hurt and forced to keep his bed. Jabez Fisher²²⁴ and the Doctor were both helped out of their difficulties and terrible situation by me and the friends I made to get them relieved. The former thanked me afterwards when I met him in London; the latter, persevering in his Tory principles, suffered, and being sent back to Carlisle, died and was buried there. Saw a Mrs. Taggart throw a pillow out of the window of the house northwest corner of Strawberry Alley to throw upon a prior Tory in a cart, covered over with tar, but cannot recollect what was his committance nor fate. After his parade up Market street, terrible times and violence.

This being written on the 22d of February, 1832, the Centennial Anniversary Birthday of General George Washington,²²⁵ a day usually celebrated by me when in health, must refer to the papers and persons employed to report the proceedings in general, and can only say the little I did see was well and regularly conducted, and having made one in the general federal procession, think there was improvement in the general appearance, dress and behaviour of the trades or professions that came in my view, but which being partial, cannot venture to go further. The conduct of such as were before me was correct, and free of dispute, and shall continue my remarks when the day is over.

Society has so greatly changed and the mixture of the people so great, that a difference must be observed from that day when we were as one American family, having mostly been educated and brought up together. I had served in the field or other stations, whereas the present offers a mixture of strangers who cannot feel as we did, as a band

223. DR. JOHN KEARSLEY, JR. (*v.* Note 6, p. 195.)

224. JABEZ MAUD FISHER. (*v.* Sabine's *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, I. 424.)

225. CENTENNIAL of Washington's birth. (*v.* Westcott, 633-634.)

of brothers joined, we could and did health and safety find. God grant, I beseech Him, a continuance.

In my walk this day, 23d February, I am confirmed in my general observations made yesterday, in every way that of temperance, with a few exceptions, and those carried to strangers, especially foreigners, both male and female, and some quarrels that were placed to local jarrings and ended without any serious consequence. I have heard the illumination spoken of various ways; that at the Bank of the United States praised by some and thought of differently by others, who thought the hotels opposite had a better effect. The State House was spoken of by a friend as an affair without anything to please. Not being able to go out and not seeing it, I must leave it to others to decide. The streets were quiet early, but a friend informing me that a balloon was seen on fire by him in the air, shows that in future such juvenile efforts should be stopped by authority of the Mayor, etc. The Federal Procession was on Friday, 4th July, 1787 or 8, all which I saw and part of which I was.²²⁶

Observations continued and lead to confirm my general opinion of the great change in the inhabitants of our great and growing city as far back as 1826, when I lived at No. 109 South Fourth street. On the 4th of July of that and every year since, it being a holiday, or a day of parties in all directions, I think the number of intoxicated persons I had seen or known in the time of our Revolution was but five or six, and since then on the last 4th of July in Spruce street I think I saw but two or three, and yet the streets were apparently full.

March 20th, 1832. Have to refer for several freshes in our great rivers, but the accounts daily received from every part of the Western rivers exceed almost credibility; from the great rise in the waters and the loss of property which cannot yet be more than partially ascertained, nothing can

226. (v. Note 30.)

exceed the damage, loss and derangements to some public works. To general record must refer for more particulars. It is worthy of observation that the Delaware has done less apparent damage than the Western rivers, at least in comparison. Accounts daily coming in bring sad marks of the damage done in all the waters. Particulars would be too tedious, but as the papers state from Albany and the Mohawk river, reference to them can give the best statement.

March 21, 1832. A fire last night was attended with a very distressing accident to several persons. Lives were lost, but great credit is due to our Fire Association²²⁷ for saving the neighbouring houses and property on Chestnut street and Exchange alley.

Having made some remarks on the effects of the freshets and stops to canals, shall now remark that our Assembly has stopped the supply of funds to carry on the canals already granted; but can it surprise any one when a person in my situation and standing in society declares he knows but one of our representatives in the Assembly, Judge Joseph Hemphill, and the two Senators. Surely this proves the alteration in the inhabitants before alluded to, and foretells the change and Democratic measures prevailing will ruin the country and upset the highest prospects for which we Federalists fought and argued. I must leave my objections to the shameful bill²²⁸ passed by the Assembly, granting "license to sell liquors" to the oyster cellars, as habits become second nature, and seeing the persons who use them, am convinced that they will ruin thousands.

Remembers when in Lisbon a grand obsequies for to pray for Louis 15th of France, then just dead. The ceremony was grand and imposing; the King, Queen and Royal Family were present; her diamonds in and on her dress were

227. FIRE ASSOCIATION. (*v.* Westcott, 636.)

228. LICENSE TO SELL LIQUOR. (*v.* Laws of Penna., Session of 1831-1832. No. 51. "A supplement to an act entitled 'An act to regulate inns and taverns,' passed April 7, 1830," making it lawful for Courts in Philadelphia to license oyster cellar keepers, p. 7.)

supposed to be valued at £10,000 by a person who was acquainted with their value.

Could my mind and memory recur to the many proofs of hospitality, kindness and friendship received on a tour through Ireland from Sligo to Derry, thence to Belfast and Dublin, enjoying the beauties of Wicklow Mountains, the Dargle, etc., and thence to Waterford and Cork, and after some days to Killarney by the route of Baltimore, and enjoying the view of the lake, with the echoes of Paddy Blake: "How are you, Paddy Blake?" "Very well, I thank you," says Paddy Blake. A laughable story. Enjoyed dancing and dinner on Innisfallen of fresh salmon, just caught, and having nine with us, can reckon it a treat seldom met with by travellers, says David Hayfield Conyngham, Oliver Birch, a merchant of Antigua, and Thomas Ewing, merchant of Baltimore, Maryland, where we parted, indeed, for life. Memory cannot serve me for anecdotes, fun, etc., but one I will put down. Dining at Alderman Hogg's in London-derry, Mrs. Hogg says: "Mr. Hogg, help Miss Bacon (an agreeable young lady at the table) to a piece of pig."

When I went into Luzerne county the roads were so bad, or not opened, that on going to Nescopeck Valley I had to give a man half a dollar to show me by Indian path the corner tree of one of the surveys in right of J. M. Nesbitt, Isaac Coxe²²⁹ and Boyle & Glen,²³⁰ and where now stands the town of Conyngham²³¹ the titles to the latter's share came to me

229. (*v.* Note 49, p. 210.)

230. BOYLE & GLEN. This was a firm organized in 1771-1772 by John Boyle, an original member of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, and Robert Glen. Boyle died 1783 and Glen 1792-1793. (*v.* Friendly Sons, Boyle, p. 100; Glen, p. 113.)

231. CONYNGHAM, Sugar Loaf Township, Luzerne County, a town of 1400 inhabitants, was named in memory of Captain Gustavus Conyngham. (*v.* Note 10, page 197.) It is located on land granted by patent, July 4, 1787, to John Maxwell Nesbitt (*v.* Note 4, p. 188), and willed by him, January 25, 1802, to David Hayfield Conyngham, his partner. It was surveyed 1806 and passed through the possession of Benjamin Rush to Redmond Conyngham, eldest son of David H. Conyngham, who was in his day one of the most prominent men in the township. He had the village site surveyed and named it Conyngham. It 1832 it contained about 50 houses.

by the house of Boyle & Glen, being in debt to us to the value and more.

Remember the time when I was pushed for quarters at Lehigh Town,²³² and had for several years to send forward a man to prevent "stops" in the Narrows that led to Mauch Chunk,²³³ now a flourishing place of resort and curiosity, and to the settlement of which I contributed by advice to Josiah White.²³⁴

Perhaps my children, as well as strangers, may say, "Why were you not appointed or placed in some situation merited by you?" In answer I must state that my very respected partner, head of the house of Conyngham & Nesbitt, after my father's leaving this country in 1776, John Maxwell Nesbitt,²³⁵ whom I shall always uphold and support with respect and grateful feelings, having early taken a decided part in American affairs, leading to our independence, was one of the first officers appointed with Mr. Nixon²³⁶ and Mr. Fuller,²³⁷ as "Committee of Claims and Naval Affairs," Paymaster to the latter, Alderman of the City, one of the first Directors of the U. S. Bank, at first establishment under firm of "Bank of North America," first President and Director of the "North American Insurance Company," and to which in course of mercantile business the house of Conyngham, Nesbitt & Co. have paid 100,000 dollars per annum in its extensive business, premising these to show that the writer could not have been brought forward without in-

232. LEHIGHTON, Carbon County. In 1832 it had 13 house, a store and two taverns. Fort Allen was erected near this place, 1756.

233. MAUCH CHUNK, Carbon County. Even those best acquainted with this picturesque locality will be interested in reading in Gordon's *Gazeteer of Pennsylvania*, 1832, pp. 274-287, an account of the opening of the coal trade at Mauch Chunk as it was at the time of Mr. Conyngham's visit. The village then had 1316 inhabitants.

234. JOSIAH WHITE, who, with Erskine Hazard, developed the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company at Mauch Chunk.

235. J. M. NESBITT. (*v.* Note 4, p. 188.)

236. COLONEL JOHN NIXON. (*v.* Note 28.)

237. BENJAMIN FULLER. (*v.* *Friendly Sons*, 112.)

terfering with the claims of Mr. Nesbitt; but can state that Governor Mifflin offered him the place of "Aid de Camp" to General Walter Stewart, and that Col. Francis Gurney²³⁸ proposed to him to take Mr. Nesbitt's place as Alderman, who, from gout and sickness, would have resigned. General Hand,²³⁹ on the Western Expedition, also offered him the place of "Aid de Camp," and he only served as a Sergeant in the Troop.

Being a Director in the North American Insurance Company when a dividend, much cavilled at since, was made, justifies his vote therefor, for what he saw and knew, and which if it could now be examined into, would stamp with approbation instead of the reverse given by unknown persons. His aversion to place or popularity has continued to the present time at his advanced age of 82 years in declaring against all pretended patriots to whom, in comparison with those of the present day (4th January, 1832) and those of 1776 and some following years, he can say that places, power and speculation, to which add peculation, form a present patriot, with but few real patriots in his opinion, knowledge or observation.

"MEMORIAL,"²⁴⁰ etc., of David H. Conyngham. To the Hble, etc., sheweth that the said David H. Conyngham was a native of America, born in the year 1750, educated partly

238. COLONEL FRANCIS GURNEY. (*v.* Pa. Arch., 2d S., X. 744; Simpson, 458-462; Ritter's "Philadelphia and her Merchants," 188-190.)

239. GENERAL EDWARD HAND. (*v.* Friendly Sons, 113-115; Heitman, 208.)

240. MEMORIAL of David H. Conyngham. The above is probably a copy of the petition from him, as surviving partner of Conyngham, Nesbitt & Co., presented to the First session of the Thirty-third Congress, 1833. The petition was laid on the table. (*v.* U. S. Pub. Doc. No. 774, p. 173.) The heirs of Mr. Conyngham and others presented the same or similar petitions to the Twenty-sixth and the Thirty-first Congress for "Indemnity for French Spoliations prior to 1800." Both petitions were referred to the Committee of the Whole House. (Pub. Docs. 371, and 584 and 653, Vol. I., p. 385.) These claims are still pending in Congress, 1904. Some have been adjudicated, but Congress has not appropriated the funds. The incidents recounted in this Memorial will be found in the previous pages.

in this country and partly in Dublin, Ireland, where he went with his father and family; returned in 1768 and served four years apprentice to J. M. Nesbitt as a merchant; went to Europe and visited France, England, Portugal, etc., and returned in 1774 to America, having added in his humble capacity to the character of America. Finding the events approaching of the separation as Colonists, he early decided on the part of America, and joined the Volunteers in the Company of Captain John Cadwalader, afterwards General, served as a soldier; and the house having large shipments of flaxseed and several vessels going to Europe, it was agreed and thought advisable that he should go to Ireland in the brig "Charming Polly," of which Gustavus Conyngham was Master, Sept. 10th, 1775. Under his orders and control arrived in Londonderry safely, and sold the flaxseed, and received and sold several other cargoes in different ports, still keeping his views as an American. Underwent many trying situations, such as the observations of Lord North, and arranging as well as he could under the apparent unsettled state of affairs. Went from London and over to Calais, and at Dunkirk joined Gustavus Conyngham and William Hodge,²⁴¹ the former having returned from the capture of the "Harwich" Packet, and agreeing with them and Jonathan Nesbitt, supercargo of brig "Charming Sally," was captured in Newport by the British Consul.

"Proceeded to Paris and obtained from Silas Deane and Dr. Franklin the Commission for Gustavus Conyngham to command and fit out the cutter "Revenge," which sailed under his agreement, and proved one of the most distressing cruziers under the American Flag, and to which I contributed and paid about £2500 for outfit. Went from Bordeaux after furnishing funds and settling for a large assortment of Russian goods to be sent to him to the Island of Martinique.

241. CAPTAIN WILLIAM HODGE, JR. (v. Sketch of Captain Hodge on page 259, Appendix A.)

"Went out there and fixed and transacted business in a variety of shipments, of great relief and benefit to the war office, such as Jesuit's bark, admitted as such; when the army was sick at Valley Forge four cases of my supply was found to be useful; also on the army under General Washington moving on towards Yorktown the Russian duck sheeting, etc., sold by us to John Mitchell,²⁴² Commissary General, and paid for in Continental paper, the real amount under the scale of depreciation not amounting to the first cost.

"In the Expedition to Penobscot²⁴³ of July, 1779, our house, under the firm of J. M. Nesbitt & Co., changed by reason of my father being in Ireland and still interested by me, was very active.

"The said house, besides the personal services of J. M. Nesbitt and myself, having always vessels at sea as Privateers, the "Nesbitt"²⁴⁴ brig of 14 guns, and "Letters of Marque" from 4 to 30 guns, by which heavy losses fell on them, and when peace came round they continued under the renewed firm of Conyngham, Nesbitt & Co. to push the business with credit and success until the unfortunate occurrences of 1793 began. Taken through losses by capture, by the illegal or piratical French Spoliations,²⁴⁵ they were much injured. But they sustained their standing as merchants, not only when uncommon losses by sea, added to the

242. JOHN MITCHELL. (*v. Friendly Sons*, 122.)

243. THE PENOBSCOT EXPEDITION, 1779. For an account of this ill-fated Expedition with Bibliography of the same, conf. Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America," VI. 582, 603-604.

244. SCHOONER "NESBITT," a privateer owned by Congyngham & Nesbitt, armed with 14 guns, and 30 men, commanded by Captain N. Martin and Commissioned by Pennsylvania in 1781. (*Pa. Arch.*, 2d S., I. 372.)

245. FRENCH SPOILIATIONS. The claims of citizens of the United States against France arising out of great losses caused by France in despoiling American commerce by war vessels and privateers from 1794 to 1798. The United States tried to obtain redress from France 1798-1800, but failed, when the citizens of the United States presented their claims to the U. S. Congress for payment. The list of losses covers over 1000 vessels, owned in whole or in part by 2270 persons, whose heirs are still pressing their claims, amounting to near \$10,000,000. The claims of D. H. Conyngham are still unpaid, although many have been adjudicated. (*v. U. S. Pub. Docs.*, Vol. 2168.)

French and Spanish Spoliations, rendered it necessary for them to retire from business; and but also under many afflicting, cruel, unfriendly and wicked acts to the prejudice of their surviving partnership which have brought us down to the present day, when hopes are entertained that justice and honour will at least restore the subscriber to comfort and means of support in his advanced age and for a numerous family of children and grandchildren.

"Let it be also remembered that on application from General Washington for immediate supplies, without which he could not keep his army together at Trenton, a large and immediate subscription was raised by Mr. Robert Morris, and a long list of subscribers for hundreds of thousands, from which list the names of J. M. Nesbitt & Co. are always omitted for the reason that a supply of salt, beef and pork from the cellar of the former house²⁴⁶ and from the latter house of Bunner, Murray & Co.²⁴⁷ by a supply of Irish beef and pork from a prize they had brought in, supplied the Army and saved them from destruction, and your Memorialist is even denied the merit attached to their pretended part in the demand.

"Such are some of the services under which the Memorialist has laboured with loss of a valuable landed estate in Pennsylvania for want of means to meet payment in judgments obtained in the State Court, and through the means of careless agents."

246. "J. M. NESBITT & Co. subscribed £5,000 for the supply of the Army of the United States with provisions. So great was the distress of the American army in 1780 that General Washington was apprehensive that they would not be able to keep the field. The army was saved, however, by a combination of providential circumstances. Washington having written to Richard Peters, Esq., giving him full information of the state of the army, that gentleman immediately called in J. M. Nesbitt and explained to him the distress of the army and the wishes of the General. Mr. Nesbitt replied 'that a Mr. Howe of Trenton had offered to put up pork for him if he could be paid in hard money. He contracted with Howe to put up all the pork and beef he could possibly obtain, for which he would be paid in gold.' Mr. Howe performed his engagement, and J. M. Nesbitt & Co. paid him accordingly. Mr. Nesbitt told Mr. Peters that he might have this beef and pork; and in addition a valuable prize, just arrived to Bunner, Murray & Co., laden with provisions. The provisions were sent in time and the army was saved." (v. Simpson, 742.)

247. BUNNER, MURRAY & Co., dry goods merchants of Philadelphia, who in 1780 subscribed £6,000 to supply the American Army with provisions. (v. Friendly Sons, 125.)

NOTE 241—APPENDIX A.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM HODGE, JR., was the second son of Andrew Hodge, Sr. (v. Note 8), a prominent and an upright merchant of Philadelphia, 1746-1790, whose place of business was at No. 85 North Water street, and who came to America from Ireland about 1731.

Captain Hodge, so called because he commanded a privateer 1779, was born Philadelphia January 20, 1750, and died September 1, 1780. He probably served his apprenticeship in his father's counting room, as was the custom. At 26 years of age he became somewhat prominent as a factor in our Naval history. The little that is known of him, however, has led to many misrepresentations of his character and career which this sketch will correct. He is sometimes called "Andrew Hodge," probably from his brother being known as "Captain Andrew Hodge" of the Pennsylvania Line. Barnes, in his "Sketch of Captain Gustavus Conyngham," describes him as "a strong-featured, red-faced man of a traditional John Bull appearance," while this American of pure Irish blood and birth, Captain Hodge, was called by all those who knew him in Europe, "*the handsome American*."

He was a trusted Secret Agent of the United States when only 26 years old, and was eminently faithful to his trust. He was an active and a zealous patriot of such integrity and good judgment for his years that early in 1776 he was sent by his father to procure in Europe supplies for the home market.

The Secret Committee of Congress, then sitting in Philadelphia, and composed of Hon. John Jay, Thomas G. Johnson, Esq., Robert Morris, Esq., Gen. Richard Henry Lee, William Hooper, Esq., and Rev. John Witherspoon, D. D., to all of whom he was personally known, learning of his proposed voyage, appointed him, May 30, 1776, their Secret Agent, and twice entrusted him with an important mission in France. Historians have generally robbed him of this honor, giving it to one who was not entitled to it. Three letters to Captain Hodge from the Secret Committee—No. 1 dated May 30, 1776, Nos. 2 and 3 dated October 3, 1776—will be found in Force's Archives, and are reproduced here in Appendix B at end of Reminiscences.

In No. 1, dated May 30, 1776, the Secret Committee empowered him to go to France and purchase large consignments of munitions of war, also to buy two Cutters, well armed, manned, and commanded by men of intelligence and true to America, to operate on the Atlantic coast from New York to Virginia. Detailed instructions were given in this letter for his guidance without any reference to Silas Deane, then in Paris, investing Hodge with absolute authority to purchase, and specifying two and one-half per cent. of his invoice as his commission. (Force, 4th S., VI. 618.)

By what vessel Hodge sailed does not appear, but she was captured, June, 1776, by the British man of war "Orpheus" and he taken prisoner, having pre-

viously destroyed all his credentials and despatches. He soon regained his liberty and returned to Philadelphia.

Congress on October 3, 1776, "Resolved that the Secret Committee be empowered to take such measures as they shall judge necessary for purchasing, arming and equipping a Frigate and two Cutters in Europe, and to give proper orders to the said Frigate making a cruise in the British Channel against our enemies; and that the said Cutters be employed in transporting to these States such articles as the said Committee has been ordered to import. (Force, 5 S., ii. 1387.)

The Secret Committee promptly acted on this Resolution. In October Hodge was again sent to France with similar powers, and additional instructions, but with directions to act in conjunction with Deane, then the United States Commercial Agent at Paris. On October 3d, 1776, the Secret Committee wrote him two letters, No. 1 and No. 2, of instruction and authority. In No. 1, referring to his capture in June, and advising him that in consequence they had taken other measures to procure the munitions of war, they enlarged their plan for purchasing two Cutters for the American Coast, and in obedience to the Resolution of Congress directed him thus:

"We propose that you should consult with Mr. Deane and Mr. [Thomas] Morris on the subject, and if you will find it to be in your power to procure seamen, and obtain permission to arm and fit out vessels in France, Spain or Holland, that you should, if possible, buy a Frigate of 20 to 40 guns, have her completely fitted, armed and manned, putting in a gentleman of unexceptionable good character, being also an able seaman, to command her, for which purpose we give you herewith a *blank Commission* to be filled up with his and *the Ship's name*, which may be the *Surprise*. The Captain and you may appoint the officers necessary for the ship, giving to each a certificate showing his station.

"When this ship is completed, you must give orders to the Captain, signed by Mr. Deane, to cruise in the Channel against the enemies of the United States of America, making prizes of all British property as he can meet with. He may send his prizes into such port in France as may be most convenient, and you will there demand protection for them, * * * and also liberty to make sale of such goods as Mr. Deane, Mr. Morris and you yourself may think best to sell there."

He was also to sell all prizes in France, use the proceeds to pay the contracts made in this business, to buy, fit, arm and dispatch the two Cutters. "We deliver you Commissions for these vessels also." * * * "The Ship must make but a short cruise in the Channel, and a short one will do the business. * * We shall desire Mr. Deane and Mr. Morris to join you in the necessary assurance to those you deal with of being faithfully reimbursed." * * "It is absolutely necessary that you assume the utmost secrecy in all this business,

and make use of every cloak or cover you can think of to hide the real design." (Force, 5th S., ii. 852.)

It thus appears that this admirable plan of aggressive action against Great Britain which was worked out so successfully by Gustavus Conyngham in the "Surprise" and the "Revenge," was conceived, arranged and laid out in such minute details by the Secret Committee alone, even to the name of the "*Surprise*," not even a suggestion of such venture being any where found in the letters of Silas Deane.

The Select Committee also wrote to Deane, October 2, 1776: "We have committed important dispatches to the care of Mr. William Hodge, Jr., who we hope will in due time have the pleasure to deliver them in person. He knows nothing of their contents other than that they are important, and in case of capture his orders are to sink them in the sea. This young gentleman's character, family, and alertness in the public service all entitle him to your notice. He is also charged with some business for the Secret Committee wherein your countenance and assistance may be useful. You will no doubt extend it to him, also engage Mr. Morris' exertions therein." (Dip. Corr. Rev., Wharton, 2, 162-3.)

With these words of confidence the Committee did not subordinate Hodge to Deane, but asked his favorable aid. Hodge left Philadelphia in the sloop "Independence" for Martinique, thence he sailed in a French vessel for France, where he met Deane in Paris, presented his credentials, and consulted with him about his course. Then he set about to execute his orders.

His "Account" published in the "Papers in Relation to the case of Silas Deane" (Seventy-Six Society, p. 103), show that he proceeded to Dover and through a Captain Cruize bought a Lugger, which, in obedience to the orders of the Committee, he named the "Surprise." He paid for it, with "provisions and outfits," 25,122 livres. Doubtless aided by D. H. Conyngham, he secured the services of Gustavus Conyngham, to whom he gave the command of the vessel, and to whom he delivered his first Commission supplied him for the purpose by the Secret Committee. This was the Commission lost by Conyngham, dated March 1, 1777, and lately purchased in Paris.

"The 'Surprise' departed on its cruise with the result so well known, the capture of the Harwick packet, and other prizes, which were taken into Dunkirk, the release of the prizes by France, and Conyngham's imprisonment. From this 'durance vile' he was soon released through Deane and Franklin. He was then again employed by Hodge, who, taking with him Mr. Carmichael, as representing the American Commissioners, purchased, as per orders of the Secret Committee, through a Captain Cook, at Dunkirk, April, 1777, the Cutter 'Greyhound'; went to Amsterdam and through Cook secured seamen, the expense of the Cutter manned being 37,500 livres. Of this amount D. H. Conyngham supplied, for his house of Conyngham & Nesbitt, \$10,000, and Captain Hodge, for his father, Andrew Hodge, Sr., probably fully as much. As

Captain Conyngham states in his Diary (Pa. Mag., XXII. 480), this required (1) "the Agents and a house to advance the money; (2) the person to buy the vessel; (3) a person with a Priest to execute the purchase; (4) a bond not to commence hostilities on the British." Captain Hodge and D. H. Conyngham gave the bond; Carmichael supplied the Commission which D. H. Conyngham and Hodge had secured from Franklin. Deane stated in his "Narrative" that "Conyngham sailed with the resolution of following his orders, but had not been long at sea before his people mutinied and obliged him to make prizes." Captain Conyngham records in his Diary, with no reason for misstatement, that Carmichael gave him "a Letter not to attack, but if attacked, at Liberty retaliate in every manner in our power—Burn—Sink and destroy the Enemy. 5th 16th July, 1777, the 'Revenge' left Dunkirk, next day attacked, fired on, chased by several Frigates, sloops of War and Cutters. A vessell in disguise in dunkirk peers to give Signals on our going out & Was executed & answered in the offing by their ships of War." The "Greyhound" was named the "Revenge."

At once, without inquiring into the circumstances attending the hostilities commenced, the French Government sought the sureties. D. H. Conyngham was spirited away by Franklin under the pass of Count de Vergennes, but Hodge was cast into the Bastille, from which, six weeks later, he was released through the influence of Franklin.

Dr. E. E. Hale, in his "Franklin in France," 1887, I. 135, makes the statement that "Early in March, 1777, a merchant from Philadelphia, William Hodge by name, came to France and entered into relations with the Commissioners, and Silas Deane especially. It was always one of Deane's favorite projects to fit out privateers in the ports of France which should annoy the British shipping." He adds that "it was not so probable that Franklin, Deane and Lee conceived the idea of fitting out the 'Surprise' in Dunkirk which should capture the Harwick packet. How much Franklin had to do with it is doubtful. Deane is the only one of the three who appears in the documents, and it was evidently he who saw to carrying out the details."

Even Dr. Hale had failed to discover the letters from the Secret Committee to Hodge. However, Carmichael testified, October 5, 1778, in his Examination before Congress, "that he did not know whether the Commissioners had received orders relative to the fitting out of these two vessels," so well did Hodge conceal his orders. (Deane, 149.) But Dr. Hale goes further:

In a note (I. 139) referring to Conyngham's cruises in the "Surprise" and the "Revenge," he says: "It was hinted later that his cruises were conceived by Deane and Hodge as private ventures to be paid out of the public funds, where profits were to accrue wholly or in part to private purses. There are not enough data to prove or disprove them, there is, however, the suspicion of them."

Dr. Hale doubtless based his statements on a letter from Franklin to Gustavus Conyngham, 1778, in his "Franklin in France," I. 348, which Franklin

could not have written had he knowledge of Hodge's private instructions of October 3, 1776. Franklin tells Conyngham that "Hodge and Ross had no right to direct him," which, as to Hodge, is in the face of Hodge's secret orders; also that "Deane had no right to dispose of his prizes," which is also in the face of Hodge's orders. Deane, Morris and Hodge were to dispose of all prizes. Morris at the time of action had been eliminated from the matter by removal. Deane doubtless sold the prizes with the sanction of Hodge. But the letters of October 3, 1776, remove all cause for Franklin's decision in the matter. As to the private interests in the "Surprise" and the "Revenge," this was sanctioned by the Committee, and was in the hands of patriots who were the peers of Franklin or any man in Congress. Hodge undoubtedly invested his father's money in the "Revenge," and D. H. Conyngham frankly states that he put \$10,000 in her, so that she belonged jointly to the Government, to Conyngham & Nesbitt, and to Andrew Hodge. This private interest doubtless was one of the "cloaks or covers to hide the real designs" which his orders bid him use. When the "Revenge" was brought to Philadelphia, April, 1779, it was "To Mr. Andrew Hodge, one of the owners of the 'Revenge' Cutter," that President Reed wrote for the privilege of using the vessel, and his letter shows that he had read "the Draught of the Charter Party of the 'Revenge' Cutter." (Pa. Arch., VII. 319.) The Secret Committee and Congress both apparently recognized these facts as correct, hence Congress ordered the vessel sold at public sale, and she was bought in by Conyngham & Nesbitt, a firm as full of devotion to the American cause as any firm in Philadelphia, and whose name, like that of Andrew Hodge, placed every action above suspicion.

In December, 1778, or early in 1779, Captain Hodge returned in his own sloop "Eclipse" to America, and reaching Beaufort, North Carolina, the first port at which his vessel touched, he landed there, where he found an old school-mate and friend, Chaptain Charles Biddle. Referring to his experience in France, Biddle says: "He told me he was fencing with a master who was teaching him, when two well-dressed men came into the room, inquired if his name was not Hodge, and when he informed that it was, they told him he was their prisoner, and desiring him to step into the carriage, they also came in and carried him immediately to the Bastile. He was confined there in a room by himself for six weeks, and probably would have died there but for the favorable turn in our affairs. During his imprisonment he never spoke a word to any person whatever. Mr. Carmichael, who lived with Dr. Franklin, frequently wrote to him, but he never received but one of his notes, and that he found in the plaits of one of his shirts. It fell out as he was putting the shirt on. He was very much rejoiced at getting it, as it informed him that he would soon be released. Mr. Hodge left the sloop in my charge and went to Philadelphia to consult with his friends what he should do with her. He soon returned and fitted her out to cruise. He wanted me to command her, but I disapproved

of being concerned in a privateer, and he made one Simpson, son of Captain Simpson of Philadelphia, her commander."

Captain Biddle adds much more relative to the "Eclipse," which had sent in a prize to Newbern, N. C., of which he took charge and acted as agent for Hodge in the trial between Hodge and some Charleston merchants who claimed it. In July, 1779, Hodge loaded the "Eclipse" with tobacco for the West Indies, and Captain Biddle accepted the command. His escape from a heavy privateer and his later experience he tells in his "Autobiography," pp. 117-127. He sailed for St. Thomas August 10, 1779, on which day Hodge returned to Philadelphia. When both had returned to Newberne in the Fall, Hodge sent the "Eclipse" as a flag of truce to New Providence, Bahama Islands, loaded with British prisoners. Biddle is silent as to his later movements. Doubtless he returned to Philadelphia that winter, and died there 1780, in his 30th year.

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

The "Whiskey Insurrection" of 1794 in the Western part of Pennsylvania was an uprising of the people against the unjust U. S. Excise laws on the distillation of whiskey.

That very fertile section was a vast granary; the only market for the grain was in the East; the cost of transportation was enormous; the freight on a barrel of flour equalled the price it brought in Philadelphia, and wheat was ground up for cattle feed. The only remedy for the poverty thus caused was distillation of the grain into whiskey easily sold in the West. The tax on whiskey was a burden too heavy to be borne—hence the Insurrection. (*v. Pa. Arch.*, 2d S., Vol. IV.; "Papers relating to what is known as the Whiskey Insurrection in Western Penna. 1794;" also Breckenridge's History of the Whiskey Insurrection, &c., 1795 and 1859.)

The late Townsend Ward, Esq., of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, prepared for me the following admirable note of the "Whiskey Insurrection" for these Reminiscences:

"In the official report of the troubles made to the President by the Secretary of the Treasury, August 10, 1794, the involved presentation of facts not in their regular order led subsequent writers, such as Chief Justice Marshall, Wharton in his State Trials, and Hildreth, to accept the statement without examination. This seems now to be conceded, and so I may now be pardoned a brief statement wherein it may be shown that Pennsylvania is innocent of the insurrection charged against her.

"By an Act of Congress of March 3d, 1791, a tax was laid on distilled spirits. The bill as originally introduced provided that suits for violations of its provisions might be brought before justices of the peace or State Courts. This was stricken out, and consequently prosecutions were before the Federal Courts. Now practically the nearest one was at Philadelphia, and to bring a defendant here was simply to ruin him, for costs and fees to counsel were to be paid in money, an article almost unknown in the western counties. A journey of many weeks and a neglected business involved the sale or mortgage of what property the defendant might possess. In the early days of our government a tax in the shape of excise was deemed improper. The first Congress, in its address to the inhabitants of Canada, in October, 1774, told that people, 'you are subjected * * * to the Impositions of Excise, the horror of all free States; thus wresting your property from you by the most odious of Taxes, and laying open to insolent Tax-gatherers, Houses, the scenes of domestic Peace and Comfort, and called the Castles of *English* subjects in the Books of their Law.' The Legislature of Pennsylvania, in 1791, instructed its Federal Senators to oppose the passage of that 'excise established on principles subversive of peace, liberty, and the rights of the citizens.' For a century or more before that time the subject had been agitating our ancestors in England, where it was aptly said that an 'Excise hath an army in its belly.'

"The reminiscences of Mr. Conyngham are interesting and as to the apparently arbitrary seizure of a large number of citizens entirely novel; for with a diligent search I never before have met with a statement by an actor in the scene of November 13, 1794, which the people of Western Pennsylvania for many years afterwards called 'The dreadful night.' In some degree it recalls the 'Night of Sorrow,' the poor Mexicans experienced from their Spanish masters. It is idle to say that everything was legally done by the authorities who wielded the power of the law. This is a baseless claim, for it is a melancholy fact that the greatest atrocities history has known have been perpetrated under color of the law. Never was a witch or a heretic burnt at the stake but under the law; whole communities, terrorized, have applauded acts their hearts, in secret, condemned, and have experienced a sense of relief when the odor of roasted flesh no longer incensed an offended Heaven.

"To avoid what might prove a tedious narrative, I may state that in 1858 I wrote a paper on the Insurrection, which is printed on pages 117 to 182 of the 6th volume of the Memoirs of the Society, bearing the title of 'Contributions to American History.' In it I said: 'It would appear that at length Congress took into consideration the 'hardship in being summoned to answer for penalties in the courts of the United States at a distance from the vicinage;' 'one of the principal complaints' of the Western people, as by an Act of June 5th, 1794, was that there was given to the State Courts a concurrent cognizance of all infringements of the excise law. This Act also made further alterations in the system. There has, however, been gathered around the action of the government, not in pursuance of, and in accordance with, this law, but in proceedings initiated prior to its enactment, and executed subsequent to its approval, an amount of obscurity and error rarely to be met with in our annals.' My effort was to prove that the statement of the matter by the Secretary of the Treasury in his report to the President, that by Chief Justice Marshall in his Life of Washington, by Mr. Francis Wharton in his State Trials, and by Hildreth in his History of the United States, was incorrect. The long and labored statement of the first, extending through four paragraphs, was reduced by Marshall to two paragraphs, by Wharton to half a paragraph, and finally by Hildreth to this single sentence: 'Very shortly *after* the adjournment of Congress steps were taken under the *new* Act on that subject, for the collection of Excise duty in the Western counties of Pennsylvania.' It is conceded to be now clearly proved that, very shortly *before* the adjournment of Congress, steps were taken under the *old* Act to enforce the collection.

"At the time of the appearance of the article on the Western Insurrection, the Hon. James Veech, then of Uniontown, Fayette county, but later of Emsworth, Allegheny county, was printing a most interesting and valuable volume entitled 'Monongahela of Old.' When two hundred and forty pages, a copy of which is in the library of the Historical Society, were printed, he stopped the work and, to the surprise of his friends, never resumed it. Chapter VIII. is

not concluded. Chapter XI. was to be on the Insurrection, according to a note (page 175) on Albert Gallatin. The printed remarks as to some incidents of the troubles, show that the unprinted part of the book as the Judge had prepared it, had ceased to be considered by him as correct, for just at that time he was led to examine the subject, with the light I had thrown on it.*

"In 1876 a most creditable volume appeared in Pittsburgh under the title of a 'Centenary Memorial of the planting and growth of Presbyterianism in Western Pennsylvania and parts adjacent.' The 7th part of this volume is 'The Secular History in its connection with the Early Presbyterian Church History of South Western Pennsylvania, by James Veech, LL. D.' On page 360, in speaking of the Western Insurrection, Judge Veech says: 'A credulous reading of current histories, and of more or less ephemeral publications based upon them, had led me to believe that, in this most extraordinary social convulsion, the people were wholly wrong and the government wholly right.' In a note on the same page he adds: 'Important disclosures from records, and many right deductions from them, have been made by Townsend Ward.' After narrating the events of the troubled time he says, on page 384: 'There are important facts which nearly all the historians of this convulsion have overlooked. Those who have noticed them have either blunted their application by a confusion of dates, or were misled to say that the Act could not apply to offences before its passage, which every lawyer knows is a mistake. The credit of their orderly disclosure is due to Mr. Ward of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, in his paper hereinbefore noted. He brought them out by collating the Court Records with the Journals of Congress. If not an intentional, it was certainly, in its results, a most disastrous evasion of a very salutary enactment, as we will presently see.'

"About the time of the appearance of Judge Veech's 'Secular History' I had but little use of my eyes, a misfortune that continued for several years. It was not till 1878 that I read his work, on which I wrote to him, and on the 20th of June of that year I received a reply. In this he says: 'I was gratified to know that you think well of my sketch of the 'Whiskey Insurrection,' in which I was very much aided by the published results of your researches. Indeed, your collation of the facts concerning the bringing of the suits and the passage of the act of June 5, 1794, served most materially to clear up many of the obscurities and much of the confusion which were apparent in all the previous accounts of the *emeute* which I had seen. You shed a new and clear light on the entire subject, and more than any one else enabled me, as I think, to remove the odium which had so long rested on the people of the 'four Western Counties' by reason of their resistance to the Excise Laws.'

"It is to be regretted, and by none more than by myself, that Judge Veech did not live to recast the remainder of his volume on 'the Monongahela of Old.'"

* "It is imperfect and incomplete and has some errors, on account of which I suppressed its publication." Judge Veech to Mr. Hayden, 1878.

I shall now endeavour to state the Western or Whiskey Expedition, being called out by General Washington to quell an Insurrection in the Western part of Pennsylvania, and which was raised under instigation of a man²⁴⁸ whom I could never believe just, honest or true, or whom, if I had come up with him and he had attempted to run, I would have shot.

We marched, I think, the 13th of September, 1794; camped over the Swedes ford²⁴⁹ on Schuylkill—a heavy gust or thunder storm; marched to Elliott's tavern,²⁵⁰ next to Downingtown,²⁵¹ thence to Ferree's²⁵² tavern, and thence to Lancaster,²⁵³ all pleasant and well; after to Chickey's

248. DAVID BRADFORD. It is fair to presume that David Bradford, Esq., is meant here. Bradford was born in Maryland. When he emigrated to Washington county, Pa., is not known. He was admitted to the Bar in Washington, Pa., April, 1782, and became very successful and prominent in his profession. He built the first stone house in the town, a two-story dwelling, on Main street, a few doors north of the property of Adam C. Morrow, corner Main and Maiden streets. Creigh says he had been a member of the Legislature of Virginia, when parts of Washington and Fayette were considered as belonging to Virginia. He was a man of great popularity throughout the county. In 1783 he was appointed Deputy Attorney General. He was one of the three representatives from Washington county meeting at Pittsburgh September 7, 1791, to take into consideration an Act of Congress laying duties upon spirits, etc. In October, 1792, he was elected to the House of Representatives under the Constitution of 1790. In 1792-3 he was one of the Commissioners appointed to lay out and sell the lots at Fort McIntosh, now Beaver, Pa. He entered with zeal into the Insurrection of 1794, and was one of the Committee to call the people to meet at Braddock's Field, August 1, 1794, where, by his eloquent and enthusiastic speeches, he procured himself to be elected unanimously to command the Insurgent forces, as Major General. So active was he in this fiasco that he was excepted from amnesty by Washington's proclamation. Refused pardon, he fled to Louisiana, then under Spanish domination, and there at Bayou Sara he died.

249. SWEDES FORD, at what is now Bridgeport, Montgomery county, so named as early as 1723. (Col. Rec. Pa., III. 225; Bean's Hist. Montgomery Co., 709-711.)

250. ELLIOT'S TAVERN, unknown.

251. "DOWNING'S TOWN," Chester county, on East branch of Brandywine River, thirty-three miles from Philadelphia, then a village of about forty families, now "Downingtown."

252. FERREE'S TAVERN, unknown. Evans mentions it in his History of Lancaster Co., but does not locate it.

253. LANCASTER, laid out 1728. Seat of Government of Pennsylvania 1807-1812, with a population of 5,000.

Creek,²⁵⁴ thence to Carlisle,²⁵⁵ where we remained several days, and were reviewed by General Washington and other military officers being put off duty there. He (General Washington), on his ride of observation, called at our tent and told me not to be alarmed at an attack I had from Limestone water, of which both I and J. B. McKean²⁵⁶ suffered much; but we marched with the troops, and on wheeling from Carlisle to the Rock Road, he (General Washington)²⁵⁷ came from his station for viewing us and said: "Mr. Conyngham, I thank you for your turning out," which, as an example, has procured me any army of friends. Marching to Berlin²⁵⁸ and on to where the Youghiogheni²⁵⁹ crosses the mountain to McGhee's²⁶⁰ Ferry. The weather had become wet and stormy, but as yet no appearance of an enemy.

254. **CHICKEY'S CREEK.** Chiques Creek, originally Chickisalunga or Chichiswalungo, the place of the crawfish. There are two creeks of the name, Great and Little Chiques, both flowing southwest from the Conewago hill through Lancaster county to the Susquehanna, uniting two miles above that river.

255. **CARLISLE.** Founded 1751. In 1753 a town of five log houses. Egle says: "In October, 1794, General Washington rendezvoused some days here with 12,000 men." (*v.* Egle's Hist. Pa., 620. *v.* Pa. Arch., 2d S. IV. 428, for account of Washington's review of his army at Carlisle.)

256. **JOSEPH BORDEN MCKEAN**, son of Chief Justice Thomas McKean. (*v.* Friendly Sons, 480; Westcott, 1539.)

257. **WASHINGTON.** Conyngham mentions (as quoted from a manuscript not among these) as an incident of this campaign, "General Washington, Commander in Chief and President of the United States, riding along side of me, expressed warmly his respects for the First Troop; that he could scarcely convey how much he had always felt himself indebted to the Troop, for their services during the Revolutionary War, and also their services on the present expedition; that such gentlemen turning out was the means of inducing the other troops to march more cheerfully." (Hist. First Troop, p. 34.)

258. **BERLIN**, or the Brothers' Valley settlement, settled 1769 by a few German families, in Somerset county, at head spring of Stony Creek, known as Pious Spring. (*v.* Pa. Arch., 2d S., IV. 433.)

259. **YOUGHIOGHENY**, pronounced Yok-he-o-ga-ny, accent on "Yok" and "ga," usually called "the Yok," name corrupted from "Iuh-wiah-hanne," a stream flowing in a contrary direction, or a circuitous route; flows into the Monongahela River.

260. **MCKEE'S FERRY**, now McKeesport, at the mouth of the "Yok River," twelve miles above Pittsburgh, on the Monongahela River, laid out 1794 by John McKee,

Mr. Clymer²⁶¹ of our Troop, whom, on a wet night before, I had begged to go to his tent, which he refused, here was taken ill and died soon after, having had every attention paid him. From that encampment was named to command a Sergeant's Guard of 12 men to accompany General John Gibson²⁶² and — Roberts,²⁶³ who had the money to pay the Troops, to be delivered at Pittsburgh.²⁶⁴

Proceeded on and had to nearly swim our horses at Big Sewickly,²⁶⁵ when by my horse I kept Roberts from being carried down the stream, and reached Quarters wet and hungry, and remembers a good breakfast. Proceeded with our party, accompanied by General Gibson and John Woods,²⁶⁶ to Judge Wallace,²⁶⁷ at Braddock's Field; had

261. MEREDITH CLYMER, son of George Clymer, the Signer of the Declaration of Independence, and his wife, Elizabeth Meredith; Member Philadelphia City Troop September 12, 1794; Honorary Member November 18, 1794; died November 18, 1794. (*v. Pa. Mag. Hist.*, IX. 354.)

262. GENERAL JOHN GIBSON, an early settler, and a prominent merchant in Western Pennsylvania, a brother of Colonel George Gibson, killed at St. Clair's defeat, and who was the father of Chief Justice John B. Gibson by his wife, Ann West, daughter of Francis and niece of William West, p. 195, Note 7. (*v. Pa. Arch.*, 2d S., IV. 68. See also Harvey's History of Lodge No. 61, F. and A. M., Wilkes-Barre, Pa., 1897, pp. 272-312.)

263. ROBERTS, unknown. This may be Acting or Deputy Paymaster John Brown, of whom Clement Biddle wrote to Governor Mifflin, September 29, 1794: "I send this by two Gentlemen of the City Troop, who remained to escort Mr. Brown, D. P. M. Gen'l, but he has not yet arrived here but is expected to-night, and has a sufficient escort with him." (*Pa. Arch.*, 2d S., IV. 383.) I find no reference to Mr. Roberts.

264. PITTSBURGH. This great city of 322,000 souls in 1900, laid out 1760, 1765 and 1784, had 1,395 inhabitants in 1796.

265. BIG SEWICKLY CREEK, Westmoreland county, empties into the Voughio gheny River near West Newton, a few miles beyond its junction with Little Sewickly Creek. There is also a Big Sewickly Creek and a Little Sewickly Creek, Allegheny county, emptying into the Ohio and Allegheny Rivers.

266. JOHN WOODS, an eminent lawyer of Pittsburgh. Admitted to the Allegheny county bar December 16, 1788. He became one of the leaders of the bar in Pittsburgh, and is so referred to by Judge White in "The Judiciary of Allegheny County." (*v. Pa. Hist. Mag.*, VII. 155, 179.)

267. JUDGE GEORGE WALLACE, son-in-law of Col. John Gibson, and the owner of Braddock's Field. (Colonel Gibson died in the house on the field.) He was one of the Committee of three appointed at the Pittsburgh meeting, July 31, 1794, "to take into consideration the present situation of affairs and declare their sentiment on this delicate crisis." (*Pa. Arch.*, 2d S., IV. 78-80.) This Committee of three were George Wallace, H. H. Brackenridge and John Wilkins, Jr. Judge Wallace was not a lawyer, but had

a good dinner,²⁶⁸ and picked out balls from the trees at Braddock's Field, and went into Pittsburgh. Being under the orders of General Gibson, on entering the town he told me to draw up our men in a street we entered, and he would see where we were best to quarter, and this proved opposite the house of Judge Brackenridge;²⁶⁹ and a guilty conscience needs no accuser, for he and his wife and family were completely frightened, supposing we came to make him prisoner, from which he was soon relieved, by General Gibson showing us where we could quarter, and to see Roberts deposit the money at Major Denny's.²⁷⁰

We passed a day in quiet at Pittsburgh before the Army came up, and from thence forded the river at the Junction²⁷¹ in our march to Healey's Mills²⁷² in Washington Co., from thence, before daylight, in several detachments, our Troop

been a Justice of the Peace since 1784; was a man of good education and in comfortable circumstances. He was commissioned one of the four Judges of Allegheny county October 9, 1783, when the county was organized. On the reorganization of the Courts under the Constitution of 1790, when Alexander Addison was appointed President Judge of the Fifth District August 17, 1791, George Wallace was commissioned one of the four Associates. He served on the bench from 1788 to 1814. Judge White, speaking of the four Lay Judges of Allegheny county from 1788 to 1838, including Judge Wallace, says "these were all men of mark and distinction." (*v. Pa. Mag. Hist.*, VII. 155, 171.)

268. BRADDOCK'S FIELD, now Braddock P. O., Allegheny county, a town of nearly 20,000 souls, covering the beautiful and historic locality, a faithful picture of which is published in Sargent's "History of Braddock's Expedition," Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1856.

269. HUGH HENRY BRACKENRIDGE. (*v. Pa. Arch.*, 2d S., IV. 140; Day's Historical Collections of Penna. 87-89, &c.)

270. MAJOR EBENEZER DENNY. This is an error. Captain Denny, did not receive his appointment of Major until December 24, 1794, when he was at Franklin. (*v. Military Journal of Ebenezer Denny, Memoirs Historical Society Penna.*, Vol. VII., 409.) He was absent from Pittsburgh during the entire outbreak, as his Journal shows, pp. 401-409. Some years after this he built a house, still standing, on the northwest corner of Market and Third streets, out of brick taken from Fort Pitt. (*id.* 232.) It is probable that the money was left at Denny's house with his uncle, John McClure. Conyngham when in Pittsburg, 1807, probably knew Denny as an officer of the Branch Bank of Pennsylvania. (*v. Egle's Penna. Genealogies*, 581, for Denny Genealogy.)

271. JUNCTION of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers with the Ohio at Pittsburgh.

272. HEALEY'S MILLS—cannot find this place.

was marched off. Under Lieutenant Hall²⁷³ we went down to Muddy Run²⁷⁴ and had a person as guide, but getting near the place we wanted, he could not make out the road, but said he was sure we were in hearing distance of the house we were looking for; upon which, recollecting what Dr. Cochran²⁷⁵ of the American Army had told me he had often benefited by, I imitated the cock's crowing, and in a minute was answered by not only the one we were looking for, but by others near at hand, and our guide said he knew where we were, and at a gallop we went down a meadow lane and surrounded Colonel Crawford,²⁷⁶ and Madelian²⁷⁷ and his son, Saucy Jack, prisoners, and witnessed a curious scene, for they had a husking party, and as they turned out almost naked, men and women, exhibited a strange appearance; the men wanting to resist, but our pistols kept them from their rifles, and they submitted and marched. As some

273. LIEUT. WILLIAM HALL. (*v.* Note 56.) Born January 20, 1752; died December 10, 1834; buried in Christ Church-yard, Philadelphia; married Jane Trenchard.

Member Philadelphia City Troop November 17, 1774; appointed Second Sergeant; promoted to Cornet 1794; Second Lieutenant October 10, 1794; First Lieutenant 1796-1803; resigned June 30, 1803; made Honorary Member July 29, 1803; was elected member Schuylkill Fishing Co. July 23, 1782; was member Pennsylvania Assembly 1798-1800. He served in all the campaigns of the Troop from 1776 to 1794.

274. MUDDY RUN. This was Muddy Creek, rising in Cumberland township, Washington county, placed in Greene county 1796, emptying into the Monongahela River at Davidson's Ferry near Carmichael. It was on Muddy Creek that so many Indian murders were committed.

275. DR. JOHN COCHRAN of Pennsylvania, Physician and Surgeon General, Middle Department, April 11, 1777; Chief Physician and Surgeon of the Army October 6, 1780; Director General of Military Hospitals January 17, 1781 to the close of the War; died April 6, 1807. (*v.* Sketch, Friendly Sons, 104-105.)

276. WILLIAM CRAWFORD of Cumberland township, *supra*. Was styled "Colonel" by Brackenridge, Findley and Porter in their accounts of the Insurrection. The only *Colonel* William Crawford ever known in this section was Colonel William Crawford of Sandusky fame, killed by the Indians 1782. He lived at Stewart's Crossings, now New Haven, Fayette county. In 1782 William Crawford of Cumberland township was taxed for one slave named Cook, aged 30. Of the warrantees of land in Washington county 1784-1892, among eleven Crawfords there was only one William; he received 162 acres November 7, 1790. Findley says they took "William Crawford and son." William Crawford of Washington county was an aged man, who, in 1822, was tried, convicted and executed for the murder of his own son. (Creigh's Hist. Washington County, Pa., 368.)

277. MADELIAN and SAUCY JACK, unknown.

more of our Troop joined us, we went on to Parson Corbley's,²⁷⁸ whom we made prisoner. His daughters had been scalped by the Indians but a year or two before [1782]. Showed us the place and church they were just going to. Went on to Sheriff Hamilton's,²⁷⁹ and with our prisoners rendezvoused at Cannonsburg,²⁸⁰ where we had to mount guard, and with difficulty had anything to eat, from opposition to us; from thence to Pittsburg, and put our prisoners in the gaol or to officers appointed to receive them. We were then told to seek quarters, and although we had been several nights on duty when we reached the distillery²⁸¹ appointed as quarters for our detachment we found neither ourselves nor horses to stand dry, and galloped off to the town, where Mr. McClure,²⁸² I think, received us for old acquaintance sake, and where I was several days, being received by the families of John Woods,²⁸³ Mrs. Tannehill²⁸⁴ and others; and being appointed to the command of a Sergeant's Guard to escort General Hamilton²⁸⁵ across the mountains, we left

278. REV. JOHN CORBLEY, born Ireland February 25, 1733; came to Berkeley county, Virginia; was licensed to preach as a Baptist minister and aided the founding of many Baptist churches in Washington, Fayette and Greene counties, Pennsylvania, 1770-1780. He was an active patriot in the American Revolution, lived on Muddy Creek. In 1782 the Indians attacked his house, killed and scalped his infant child, shot and scalped his wife, tomahawked his six years old son, killed and scalped one daughter, and scalped the other two daughters who survived and grew to maturity. (v. Creigh's History Washington Co., Pa., 2d Ed., Appendix 59.)

279. SHERIFF JOHN HAMILTON commanded "the Bloody Battalion," so called because many of his men were in the Moravian Massacre in the Williamson Expedition of 1782. He was Sheriff October 22, 1793—November 2, 1796; Associate Judge May 31, 1802. (v. Sketch in Crumrine's Washington Co., Pa., 694; also Brackenridge's "Western Insurrection," 1859, p. 297-289.)

280. CANNONBURG, Washington county, Pa., a village 1794; made a borough 1802. Seat of Jefferson College.

281. DISTILLERY erected by Craig & Bayard at the Point in Pittsburgh.

282. JOHN MCCLURE, uncle of Major Ebenezer Denny. (v. Denny's Journal, 296.) Major Denny's grandmother was Margaret McClure, and John McClure was doubtless her brother. (v. Egle's Penna. Genealogies, 579.)

283. v. Note 265.

284. MRS. TANNEHILL. There were two of the name in Pittsburgh, Lieutenant Josiah Tannehill, an officer of the Virginia Line, and Captain Adamson Tannehill of the Maryland Line. Josiah kept the "Green Tree" on Water St.

285. GENERAL ALEXANDER HAMILTON, then Secretary of the United States Treasury. (v. Lodge's "Hamilton," American Statesmen Series.)

Pittsburgh and travelled by McConnellsburgh²⁸⁶ to York, and thence by Lancaster to Philadelphia, meeting nothing but cold and wet weather; received the General's thanks, and thus ended the Military Campaign. Had to leave my tent companion very sick at Washington, but he met good friends, and Robert Smith²⁸⁷ recovered, and is now alive and in good health for his age.

Our Troop was commanded by John Dunlap,²⁸⁸ Captain, made Major while out; William Hall,²⁸⁹ First Lieutenant, lately deceased, 1832; David Lenox,²⁹⁰ Second Lieutenant, deceased; John Lardner,²⁹¹ Third Lieutenant, in place of Thomas Leiper,²⁹² who was disabled at Downingtown by a fall from his horse; Samuel Howell, Jr.,²⁹³ First Sergeant and

286. MCCONNELLSBURG, Porter township, Huntingdon county, Pa.

287. ROBERT SMITH, born Ireland; Captain Copperthwait's Battalion Pennsylvania Militia September 11, 1777; Bradford's Battalion 1779; Member Philadelphia City Troop May, 1781; Honorary Member July 28, 1803; died 1838. (Pa. Arch., 2d S., XIII. 622; XIV. 14.) Member Hibernian Society 1790; Merchant at 26 South Front street 1791. Ritter says: "At No. 58 Front street he pursued a popular and profitable trade in dry goods for many years, was well, widely and popularly known even in 1795, and more than 25 years after." p. 173. Westcott remembers Robert Smith as a member Mechanics' Committee appointed to confer with the Merchants' Committee in protest against the Boston Port Bill June, 1774.

288. JOHN DUNLAP. (v. Note 63.) Findley says: "Captain Dunlap of Philadelphia and his company were sent to Muddy Creek in the upper end of Washington county; they took Colonel Crawford and son, Mr. Sedgwick, a justice of the peace, Mr. Corbly, a clergyman of the Baptist persuasion, and others. They were taken early in the morning, and had no opportunity of making resistance. Captain Dunlap and his party, while they behaved with the greatest dexterity in taking the prisoners, treating them with as much politeness and attention as their situation would admit of, and engaging their gratitude by accompanying unavoidable severity with humanity. Captain Dunlap had a discrimination made in his orders between witnesses and supposed criminals, but treated them all with humanity, and had them comfortably lodged, and provided them with victuals and drink previous to his taking refreshments himself."

289. WILLIAM HALL. (v. Note 56.)

290. DAVID LENOX. (v. Note 54.)

291. JOHN LARDNER. (v. Note 68.)

292. THOMAS LEIPER. (v. Simpson, p. 48.)

293. SAMUEL HOWELL, JR., merchant. Member Philadelphia City Troop, November 17, 1774; First Corporal, First Sergeant and Orderly, and Treasurer, 1794; Member Committee of Safety October 20, 1775-July 22, 1776; appointed by President Washington Commissioner U. S. Bank March 19, 1791; Honorary Member City Troop June 19, 1798; died November 6, 1806.

Orderly; D. H. Conyngham,²⁹⁴ Second Sergeant; Robert Smith,²⁹⁵ Third Sergeant; J. B. McKean,²⁹⁶ Fourth Sergeant; Jonathan Williams,²⁹⁷ Corporal, deceased; Robert Hiltzheimer,²⁹⁸ Corporal, deceased, 1832; John Mease,²⁹⁹ Corporal, deceased; John Donaldson,³⁰⁰ Quarter Master, died January, 1832; Jonathan Robeson,³⁰¹ Quarter Master, deceased; Dr. James L. Ewing,³⁰² Physician and Surgeon, deceased.

No doubt many anecdotes of our proceedings and round our camp fires at night might be told, but my age and want of memory prevent my detailing them. We never slept on a bed until we persuaded General Hamilton to take one at Yorktown, and the rest of us never got to one until we reached Lancaster, where the escort was dismissed, and we came home in separate parties.

The pay and rations that were due me and others on this and former campaigns were settled by John Donaldson and others, and now form the Orphans' supply in the Pennsylvania Hospital³⁰³ for women in necessity, or Lying in Hospital. There are but few of us now remaining.

294. (v. Note 59.)

295. ROBERT SMITH. (v. Note 287.)

296. JOSEPH B. MCKEAN. (v. Note 256.)

297. JONATHAN WILLIAMS. Member Philadelphia City Troop, September 12, 1794; Honorary Member, June 19, 1798; Judge Court of Common Pleas, 1776; General and Chief of Engineers, U. S. A.; First Superintendent West Point Military Academy; died May 18, 1815. (v. Sketch, Nat. Cyc. Am. Biog. III. 239-240.)

298. ROBERT HILTZHEIMER. Member City Troop, May 4, 1786; Second Corporal, 1796.

299. JOHN MEASE. (v. Friendly Sons, 122.)

300. JOHN DONALDSON. (v. Note 138.)

301. JONATHAN ROBESON. Member Philadelphia City Troop, 1792; Honorary Member June 19, 1798; Lieutenant, Volunteer Light Dragoons, Provisional Army, U. S. A., July 17, 1798; died September 5, 1799.

302. DR. JAMES L. EWING. Member Philadelphia City Troop September 10, 1794; Surgeon of Troop, 1794-1803; Honorary Member July 29, 1803.

303. PENNSYLVANIA HOSPITAL. The members of the City Troop serving from 1776 to 1783, resolved March 8, 1792, to give the pay due them for their Revolutionary services to establish a Foundling Hospital. The amount, which was about \$5,000, was invested, and in 1807 was transferred to the Pennsylvania Hospital to be known as "The Fund bestowed by the First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry to the Lying-in and Foundling Hospital." This Fund had been exhausted by 1831, as stated in the History of the Pennsylvania Hospital, 237. But, according to the History of the First Troop, it was lost by the failure of the Bank of Pennsylvania, 1857. (v. History First Troop, pp. 34, 41; History Pennsylvania Hospital, pp. 236, 237.)

KENTUCKY JOURNEY.

Continuing my reminiscences I have nearly to make my journey to Kentucky, with the same reference to a book, or in a bag containing claims, titles, etc., not only as a "Special" Assignee, but as a "General" Assignee of Francis and John West,³⁰⁴ and to which I must refer in a bag of papers and to

304. FRANCIS AND JOHN WEST, sons of William West and his wife Mary, daughter of William Hodge. (v. Notes 7, 8.)

William West, the father, born Sligo, Ireland, died Philadelphia October 28, 1782. His will, June, 1782-January, 1783, names his wife Mary West, daughter of William Hodge, his father-in-law William Hodge, and his own children, who were: Mary, wife of D. H. Conyngham, Francis and John, *supra*, William, who died 1793, James, Ann, Benjamin Fuller, and Helen, born 1777. His will also names his nephew William Alricks; witnesses John M. Nesbitt, Thomas Barclay and Matthew Mease. His executors were William Hodge, his father-in-law, his nephew, William West, Jr., and D. H. Conyngham. When his daughter Mary married Mr. Conyngham he added a codicil to his will naming his daughter Helen, born 1777, and giving his daughter Mary "a Silver Urn and Tea-boiler." He did not sign his codicil, and William Alricks deposed that it was William West's writing. Alricks says he was apprenticed five years and more to his uncle William West, the elder. Mary Hodge West, his widow, made her will and died 1785, naming her father William Hodge, step mother Eleanor, and her children Francis, John, William Hodge, James, Benjamin Fuller, Mary, Ann and Helen.

The Pennsylvania Gazette, November 13, 1782, speaks thus of Mr. West: "On Monday the 28th ult. died at his seat at Whitemarsh, *Mr. William West*, after a short fit of illness, which he bore with the greatest firmness and equanimity, and on Wednesday morning his remains were interred in this city attended by many friends and respectable inhabitants. He was certainly a gentleman of very unblemished reputation, amiable and gentle in his disposition, affable and courteous in his deportment, cheerful in his temper, though grave in his aspect, generous and polite in his manner of living, sincere and deservedly happy in his family connexion, and to the highest degree upright and exact in his dealings. He was long an eminent and principle merchant in this city. In his conduct the integrity of his heart and the candor of his principles were so distinguished and conspicuous that his loss is most universally regretted by the public and all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance." William West was one of the original members of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, 1771; Vice President, June, 1773 to June 17, 1774; President, June 17, 1774, to June 17, 1776.

Francis West, Jr., born Philadelphia, September 14, 1761, was made a member of the Friendly Sons March 17, 1783. He died June 29, 1843, aged 81, "the last surviving of its members." He was a member First City Troop May 4, 1786, serving in the "Whiskey Insurrection" expedition, 1794, and was mustered into the United States service March, 1796, for public defence. He was made an Honorary Member February 20, 1810; was also a member of the Hibernia Fire Company, and of the Philadelphia City Council, 1795, 1796.

John West, his brother, became a member Friendly Sons 1786; was also elected a member First City Troop April 24, 1786; Honorary Member July 3, 1798. He was in the dry goods business with his brother Francis from 1791 until his death, unmarried,

letters and agreement with James Cowan, Esq., from whom I am anxiously looking for letters, remittances and accounts.

D. H. Conyngham left Germantown, near Philadelphia,³⁰⁵ on the 27th day of May, 1807, went on to Lancaster, thence by Carlisle,³⁰⁶ Strasburgh,³⁰⁷ Bedford,³⁰⁸ Stoystown,³⁰⁹ and

in 1799. He lived in London, England. He was also a member of the Hibernia Fire Company.

Benjamin Fuller West, a younger brother, was a member of the City Troop September 12, 1794. Served in the "Whiskey Insurrection" expedition as private 1794, and was mustered into the United States service as Corporal 1796. He died, New Orleans, September, 1804.

Francis and John West were popular merchants in 1791, at No. 108 Front street, Philadelphia, and for many years afterwards. Conyngham & Nesbitt occupied Nos. 94 and 96; Stewart & Barr, No. 100; Peter Blight, No. 102; Abijah and Rumford Dawes, No. 106, and Francis and John West, No. 108. Ritter says, page 184: "Francis West was the sire of Captain James West, who was so long and favorably known as a Commander in Cope's line of Liverpool ships, and afterwards as a popular Commander of the finest steamship in the Liverpool trade. Dr. Francis West, second son of Francis, Sr., succeeded his parents in the homestead of No. 108, and grew in his practice of medicine there; but his assiduity, and fearless attention to the sufferers of the cholera of 1832 contributed much to his fame and deserved popularity, and his disinterested liberality justly links him in the chain of benevolent men." (*v. Friendly Sons*, 138, 139.) After the death of John West in 1794, the affairs of Francis and John West were placed in the hands of D. H. Conyngham as assignee for settlement. Hence his visit to Kentucky in 1807.

305. The route taken by Mr. Conyngham to reach Pittsburg from Philadelphia, 1807, is very interesting in contrast with the direct line of travel between these points in 1904. There were no railroads; and the only turnpike on the line at that time was the "Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike," 62 miles long. Mr. Conyngham travelled in his own chaise, with "wooden springs," to Lancaster, thence by public road to Carlisle, and thence probably by what was hardly more than an Indian path to Pittsburg. He surely took the same route as was followed by Christian Frederick Post to the Indians, 1758, from Carlisle to Upper Strasburg, thence to where once stood Fort Littleton, thence to Raystown or Bradford, thence to Greensburg, and Pittsburg. Post went from Carlisle October 29 to Shippensburg, November 1 to Fort Littleton, November 3 to Raystown, thence to the Loyalhanna (Greensburg), and thence to Pittsburg, so that the roads could have been very little improved by 1807. Mr. Conyngham took ten days in 1807 to cover a distance now covered in ten hours.

A paper on "State Roads and Highways in Eastern Pennsylvania and Lebanon County," by Hon. Theo. B. Klein, Lebanon County Historical Society, April 17, 1903, gives a good account of the character of these roads. It has just issued.

In 1807 Brownsville (Old Redstone) and Pittsburg were at the head of Ohio and Western navigation, and nearly all commercial business between these places and those below Pittsburg was carried on by flatboats.

306. CARLISLE. (*v. Note 255.*)

307. STRASBURG. Upper Strasburg, Franklin county, at foot of the Blue Mountains.

308. BEDFORD, Bedford county, 200 miles west of Philadelphia, formerly Raystown, incorporated 1795. Noted to this day for its mineral waters, discovered 1804.

309. STOYSTOWN, Somerset county; had 40 houses 1832.

Greensburg³¹⁰ to Pittsburgh³¹¹ where he arrived the 6th of June at 11 o'clock. During the ride he overset the chaise in a hole near Bedford, broke one of his wooden springs near Littleton,³¹² and encountered very bad roads. It rained daily after he reached the mountains, and although in general it was bad travelling, yet he thinks Turtle Creek Hills³¹³ was the most difficult part.

At Pittsburgh met Dr. Brassieus,³¹⁴ who was loading his boats, and on Wednesday, June 10th, we embarked our horses and put off in a severe gust of rain and wind, and the boat being leaky, made us very wet and uncomfortable. However, the Ohio was very full and gave us a great run down to Wheeling,³¹⁵ a promising town in Virginia, where several boats were building, and it appeared a thriving place. Left it 6 o'clock P. M. and reached Marietta³¹⁶ at same hour next day. This appears a place of great consequence; its situation on the Muskingum forms a fine harbour, and the ship yards were occupied with vessels from 80 to 400 tons, building being pushed there. The next day we passed Gallia³¹⁷ it is also well situated, but does not appear to

310. GREENSBURG, county seat of Westmoreland county. In Somerset county 1807; laid out 1784; seat of justice 1782; had 150 houses 1832; now has 6,500 people.

309. PITTSBURGH. (v. Note 264.)

312. LITTLETON, site of Fort Lyttleton, Franklin county. Not a town.

313. TURTLE CREEK HILLS, twelve miles above Pittsburgh, on Turtle Creek.

314. DR. BRASSIERES, probably Dr. Brashears of Bardstown, Ky., who performed at Bardstown, 1806, the first successful hip joint amputation in America. (v. Collins, Ky., II. 89.)

315. WHEELING, Va., now West Virginia. This "promising town," fifty-eight miles below Pittsburgh, with 100 houses in 1807, had then "a printing office, a book store and a library. The two first quit the town for want of patronage." It is now the seat of Justice for Ohio county, has 40,000 people, and a public library of 18,000 volumes.

316. MARIETTA, O., at the mouth of the Muskingum, had in 1807 90 houses, and a Bank with \$100,000 capital, of which General Rufus Putnam, brother of General Israel Putnam, and of Revolutionary fame, was President. It is the seat of Marietta College.

317. GALLIAPOLIS, O., settled 1790 by 100 or more French people, enticed by shrewd speculators, who got their money and left them with worthless titles, utterly unfitted to open a home in a wilderness. A few of the emigrants had money. Americans joined the colony, and in 1807 it had 50 families, was the seat of Justice of Gallia county, with a court house, jail, church, academy, &c. Howes's "Historical Collections of Ohio" contains a graphic account of its beginning as romantic and pathetic as Murray's "Story of some French Refugees and their Azilum, Pa., 1793-1800," v. v. The population, 1904, about 5,500.

progress, nor indeed does it carry on its appearance that state of cultivation that one would have supposed from the adventurers who settled it. Fruit trees appeared large and thriving. We still proceeded day and night, and in 112 hours reached Maysville³¹⁸ or Limestone. It is not in my power to describe all the new towns we passed. Point Pleasant,³¹⁹ in Virginia, on the mouth of the Kanawha, appears as handsome as any situation I saw. Passing some places in the night, such as Blennerhassett's Island,³²⁰ I could not well distinguish the improvements; was disappointed with the appearance of the Scioto,³²¹ it being much smaller than I had imagined. The Ohio from Pittsburgh exhibits an unusual sameness that is not long pleasing; it scarcely anywhere varies in breadth; in some places there appear fine bottoms, and when in time improvement accompanies population, it must become a general object for all travellers to descend. A circumstance worthy of remark is the great want of brooks or springs, as we often ran miles before we could obtain water to fill our kettles, the settlers depending on the river. Maysville appears a grand depot

318. MAYSVILLE, Mason county Ky., settled 1784; called Limestone because at the mouth of Limestone Creek; named Maysville for Colonel John May. (*v.* Collins' Kentucky, II. 565-536.)

319. POINT PLEASANT, Mason county, Va., now West Virginia, at the junction of the Great Kanawha River and the Ohio River, four miles above Gallipolis. The "Battle of Point Pleasant" was fought here, 1774, between the Indians under Cornstalk and the Virginia troops under General Andrew Lewis, who, after an all day fight, routed the Indians. This was probably the initial battle for the Independence of the American Colonies. Had Cornstalk won, with Lord Dunmore on the side of England, the cause of the Colonies would probably have been lost. The location of Point Pleasant is one of unusual beauty. Henry Clay, when he passed the spot, said that it reminded him of a "beautiful queen clothed in rags." In 1807 one William Langtry was the only merchant at the Point. Its population in 1904 was 2,000. It is the county seat of Mason Co.

320. BLANNERHASSETT'S ISLAND, so named for Harmon Blennerhassett, an Irish gentleman who built here an elegant home, but becoming involved in Burr's conspiracy, he left the place and the handsome buildings were destroyed. The Island is two miles below Parkersburg, West Virginia, and the Little Kanawha River.

321. SCIOTO RIVER, O., a beautiful river, 300 miles long, flowing into the Ohio, subject to like conditions as the Ohio of annual overflow. Columbus, Chillicothe and other cities are located on its course. (*v.* Navigator, 1811, 196.)

or place of landing for the convenience of transporting goods to Paris, Lexington, etc.

I proceeded on a tolerable road through Washington to May's Lick.³²² The spring did not appear strong, but from the gathering of cattle around it, no doubt it is still salt. From thence, over a rough and bad road, to the first Blue Lick.³²³ The springs on both sides of Licking are large and strong; twenty kettles were working in one house, and numbers in others. The taste of the water, although not brackish, sickened my stomach. The salt made appears fine and good coloured, and looks like the Lymington or coarse Liverpool. It sells at the spot for 13 shillings Virginia currency per bushel.³²⁴

Passed over the second Blue Lick, over rough and bad roads through Millersburgh,³²⁵ thence the road became better to Paris,³²⁶ a tolerably thriving place, and from thence to Lexington,³²⁷ which is indeed a wonder of its age; I reckon above 400 houses and the most, large brick buildings, and numbers of new ones. It is situated in a rich, fertile body of land, the stone all limestone of a blue cast, and water strongly impregnated with lime. The woods are mostly filled with sugar maple, locust, sycamore, etc. Several rope yards and cotton spinning give an appearance of business, and the other tradesmen all seemed well employed and industrious. In no place did I ever see so many persons ride

322. MAY'S LICK, Ky., twelve miles from Maysville, also named for John May, owner of the land and a famous "lick" or spring near by, once a noted camping ground. (*v. Collins' Kentucky*, II. 563.)

323. BLUE LICK. The Upper and Lower Blue Lick Springs, Nicholas county, Ky., famous for over a century; discovered 1773 by a party of men from the Youghiogheny River, Pennsylvania. (*v. Collins*, II. 654-655.)

324. VIRGINIA CURRENCY was then almost equal to Sterling. (*American Register*, I. 145.)

325. MILLERSBURG, KY. Miller's Station, twelve miles south of the Lower Blue Licks.

326. PARIS, KY. Established 1790 as Hopewell, then called Bourbonton, then Paris. (*v. Collins* II. 66.) Population 1900, 4,500.

327. LEXINGTON, KY. Ranck in his "History of Lexington," says: "It had reached its zenith in 1810, then the centre of Western trade, with a population of 8,000; the sales of the largest business house there amounted, in 1810, to \$100,000 a month." Population, in 1900, 26,000.

to and fro, on horseback generally, but many in carriages and chaises, which proves the country must be thickly settled. But, as far as a passenger may judge, the farm houses in general are mean and miserable hovels surrounded by crops exceeding any I ever saw. The interference of titles is the cause to which the want of buildings is attributed, but it may be added that a ready money market is also to be adduced. I dined at Mr. Barr's³²³ on Sunday at his farm. I think in no part of the world did I ever see a superior. He has fifty brood mares, and expects forty-eight mule colts this year. His young mules are the handsomest I ever saw. He takes them at two years old to South Carolina, where they average him one hundred dollars per head. His wheat and oats are both so rank and fine that the late rains must injure them; his corn very good, he expects seventy-five bushels per acre from it.

His house large and convenient, built of bricks, with an extensive garden and orchard. His meadow ground is so loaded with timothy, clover and blue grass that he will cut two tons per acre. He showed me his wood pasture. In above two hundred acres there was not a handful of dry leaves; these, I am informed, rot so fast that by January they all disappear so that no dirt or trash remains. Eighty acres of the woods, which he had kept up for twenty-eight days, were fit for mowing, the blue grass and clover being knee deep, and the rest of the wood excellent also. Water is not plenty, but as the lands clear they say springs and brooks increase. Equality seems very general here, the Judge and Constable, the Colonel and Corporal, and except some few Lawyers and Merchants, the Yeomen, clad in homespun cotton, appear much alike. They seem hardy, bold and enterprising, and I do not see that propensity for liquor that prevails elsewhere. The women, I have seen

323. ROBERT BARR, Fayette county, probably. He was one of the promoters of the Kentucky "Society for Promoting Useful Knowledge." (*v.* Collins II. 193.)

few, are handsome; they have several schools for girls, to whose education they pay attention; not having seen any further I can only remark this much. Their market is well supplied with beef, mutton and veal, and their vegetables are very good. Strawberries were done, but of raspberries, currants and gooseberries, there appears plenty. Cherries I have met, but none of good sort. Bread very excellent.³²⁹

During my stay at Lexington I was able to enlarge my remarks upon general things. The Court was in session, Mr. Munroe³³⁰ presided as Judge, the lawyers appeared learned and well educated, and some displayed good capacity for dispute, but the influence of the people prevails in the Courts. Neither the Judge nor his opinions scarcely ever prevail; and his want of power and authority admits of a custom, upon the most trifling difference of opinion, of filing exceptions, which leads to a removal to their Court of Appeals³³¹ at Frankfort, which I think may be justly styled the "Court of Exceptions"; and having been acquainted with Judges of both, I must say I think Mr. Munroe the best informed.

Methodists prevail very generally; their worship, as usual, noisy and violent, the few I heard scarcely uttered common sense. Baptists are, I think, the most numerous, their service well attended; the other sects appear small.

June 30th I went to Frankfort,³³² the Capital of the State, upon the Kentucky River, a fine river full of boats, abounding with good fish, its banks high and bold, similar to the

329. THE ABOVE account of the value of products raised in Kentucky in this year is sustained by a letter in Charles Brockden Brown's *American Register*, 1806-7, I. 145-146. The hay was worth £1.10.0 sterling per ton.

330. JOHN MUNROE, Judge of the Fayette County Court. (*v. Ranck's History Lexington, Ky.*, 177.)

331. COURT OF APPEALS. In 1807 Felix Grundy was Chief Justice, and John Trimble, Ninian Edwards and Thomas Todd were Judges. (*v. Collins II.* 500.)

332. FRANKFORT. Mr. Conyngham's description of this beautiful city in 1807 is accurate. It contained then about 140 houses, three printing offices, a book store, a bindery and a library; a State Bank was established after Mr. Conyngham's visit. The population now is 9,000. From 1793 to 1873 Frankfort had eight State Houses of which four were destroyed by fire. (*v. Collins II.* 245.)

Schuykill. The State offices were well built, but from parsimony of the Assembly are going fast to ruin. I think the Capital is wrongly fixed. Either Louisville, below the Falls, where a port would give great circulation, or else Lexington should have been the place. I renewed my acquaintance with Governor Greenup,³³³ he is allowed fifteen hundred dollars per annum with a house, garden and fire wood. This pitiful compensation prevents his living as a Governor, and Democraay is carried too far in every department in my mind.

Frankfort is a fine situation for a few stores and a Tobacco Inspection, but can never be a great place. The Penitentiary deserves high commendation, its labour nearly pays its support. Nails, chains, etc., are worked there to a great advantage from the convenience of excellent coal, at one shilling per bushel, brought down the Kentucky. There were twenty-one persons confined; three were foreigners, the rest natives. Mr. Snead superintends it with great judgment.

I dined, going and coming back, at Dailey's inn; he is a free black man whose house would prove excellent for neatness, attendance and propriety.

Yesterday, 4th of July, was a partial holiday, it was celebrated by the parade of some Militia Uniform Companies, and several orations delivered in several public buildings. The one I heard was languid; not a word of our worthy Washington nor to his memory. Several public dinners were then resorted to. Whiskey alone was drank, but I saw little riot, and few drunkards.

Rains were very frequent and roads bad; on the 5th it rained towards evening and again before day of the 6th, and during the morning, at 10 o'clock, it became stronger and fell with such violence as to raise the Branch, a small incon-

333. CHRISTOPHER GREENUP, born Virginia 1750, died Frankfort, Ky., April 24, 1818. Governor of Kentucky 1804-1807. (*v.* Collins II. 303-304.)

siderable rivulet at common times, so high as to carry down houses, hay scales, logs, fences and everything in its way. Besides great damage in the country, it overflowed the town of Lexington, rushing into stores and cellars, most of which were full of water. Several merchants suffered heavily by the loss of sugar, salt, etc., and I think if it had continued half an hour longer it would have destroyed the trading part of the Main street. This rain was accompanied with but little thunder, lightning or wind. It continued so very wet with heavy gusts that I was not able to proceed to the Mud Lick or Olympian Springs³³⁴ until the 9th, when I went part of the way, dining at Winchester³³⁵ situated in a rich spot of land where they cultivate more tobacco than I had seen in any other place. I slept at Watts' and breakfasted next day at Mount Sterling,³³⁶ County town of Montgomery. Here is an artificial hill or mound of earth thrown up about 30 feet high and about 300 feet in diameter, trees grow up from it, but whether it was a burial place or a fort I could not fix in my mind.

Hence to the Springs, about fourteen miles below, through a dark and lonesome road, I went on safely, and found Mr. Banks had done a vast deal to accommodate company. The lick is in a hollow, around which he has built a good house for a tavern, a room for billiards, and a large house for dining in and for dancing. This is piazzaed on both sides and is cool and airy. Round about are a number of cabins where you sleep and assemble to meals

334. OLYMPIAN SPRINGS, Bath County, eight miles southeast of Owingsville, a popular-watering place with three springs, Sulphur, Salt-sulphur and Chalybeate.

335. WINCHESTER, Clark County, named for Winchester, Va., 1793; incorporated 1793. Population now 6,000.

336. MOUNT STERLING, so called because of the ancient mound which stood in the town limits. This mound was not so large as stated, *supra*. In 1806, Josiah Espy, a Philadelphia merchant, described it as "a remarkable Indian mound, about 25 feet high, almost 125 feet in diameter at the base and perfectly circular." It was cut down 1846 and a large residence built on the spot. (*v. Collins II. 632.*) It is probable therefore that the mound described by Mr. Conyngham was the one outside the town limits 25 feet high connected with a circular work 350 feet in diameter by a terrace 100 feet long.

in the big building. These springs are remarkable; the large well is called a salt spring; it is mixed with sulphur and magnesia, and is used for baths and many purposes. It smells and tastes so disagreeably that my stomach would not admit it. About ten yards from the pump is a fine large spring of vitriol water. It tastes quite acid, and was to me pleasant and agreeable. Within five yards of this spring is a larger one, so strong of copperas that it can only be applied outwardly to sores, etc.

Salt after rain is seen on all the ground, and cattle come many miles in droves to lick it.

About 400 yards around a small hill of gravel and stone is as fine a running stream of chalybeate or water from iron ore, clear and cold, and within ten yards of it a clear fine spring of pure water. About three miles from these is a spring of sulphur, very strong and clear, so that perhaps in the world there is no combination of so great a variety of mineral waters. I passed a week with great satisfaction, although the rains were still too frequent. I was pleased with the company, and made up an intimacy with General Scott.³³⁷ I procured some papers and information from Mr. Banks and returned to Lexington, where I heard the news respecting the Chesapeake frigate, and Burr's being found guilty by the Grand Jury. I also found that Blennerhassett was in gaol here, and saw him marched off for Richmond under the Deputy Marshal and an escort of six men.

Little business occurring for some days, and few engagements, being urged by numbers to take a view of the Cliffs of the Kentucky river,³³⁸ I went down on Saturday, the 31st of July, to Mr. Delham's, at the mouth of Hickman, in company with Mr. Nicholas and G. Bickham; we were joined there by J. Gratz; we dined pleasantly and set

337. GENERAL CHARLES SCOTT, 1733-1813; distinguished as a soldier; Governor of Kentucky 1808-1812. (*v.* Appleton Cyc. Am. Biog., V. 435.)

338. THE CLIFFS of the Kentucky River. (*v.* Collins' Kentucky, II. 397.)

off exploring the hills, which are truly remarkable. The rock is of marble and exceeds 300 or 400 feet in height on both sides. There are numbers of caves, some of which our party visited and found some of the earth from which the saltpeter is made.

We returned in the evening, contemplating our arrangements for next day's amusements, which were unfortunately frustrated by the death of poor George Bickham,³³⁹ who went in with young Delham to bathe, and intending to cross the river, was carried into the vortex of a fishtrap, and whether he was seized with cramp or illness, or fell and hurt himself against the wood, we know not, he disappeared and was drowned. Darkness prevented our seeing him, and the noise of the water must have prevented our hearing any cries if he made any, nor could we even examine the place; the only canoe within two miles being taken away by a boy. We found the body next afternoon about 400 yards down the stream in deep water, and had it conveyed to Lexington and there buried.

I saw two catfish that weighed one 60 pounds and the other 34 pounds. They are very palatable when dressed. Some Indian corn is so very strong and high as to run up to 14 and 15 feet, and some few fields up to 19 and 20 feet high; in many places I could not reach the ears.

339. GEORGE BICKHAM. The following notice from *The American Register* for 1807, Vol. II., p. 83, confirms the above:

"Drowned, Lexington, Ky., on July 30, George Bickham, jun., of Philadelphia, only son of George Bickham, Esq., merchant, of that place.

"On Friday morning Mr. Bickham and several of his acquaintances went on a visit to the Kentucky river; they had spent the afternoon in exploring the cliffs of the river, near the mouth of Hickman (the object of their visit), and in the evening he, with another gentleman, went in to bathe. In attempting to swim across the river, he unfortunately got into a current, which precipitated him over a fish dam a short distance below, and no efforts of his anxious friends could save him. The body, under the direction of the Rev. Mr. Moore and Mr. Blythe, attended by a large number of his friends and acquaintances, was interred in Lexington. In no instance have we witnessed such universal sympathy as was excited by this lamentable occurrence. To eulogize the deceased is unnecessary. Humane and generous, all who knew him loved him. In him society has lost a valuable member, an aged father the consolation of his declining years, and an amiable family a tender and affectionate brother."

APPENDIX B.

(SEE PAGE 259.)

SECRET COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS TO CAPTAIN HODGE.

PHILADELPHIA, May 30, 1776.

SIR: As you are now bound on a voyage to Europe with a view of procuring sundry articles that are wanted here, and have expectations that your friend Jean Wanderwoordt will supply such as we may desire, provided he is assured of being duly paid the cost, with interest for the time he remains in advance, we, the subscribers, being a quorum of the Secret Committee appointed by the honourable the Continental Congress, and authorized to procure from foreign countries supplies of arms, ammunition, and other articles on the best terms we can, being sensible of your deserving character, and knowing that your attachment to the liberties of your native country entitles you to our confidence, have concluded to authorize and empower you to contract with any person or persons in Europe, for ten thousand stand of good soldiers' muskets, well fitted with good double bridled gun-locks, and good bayonets; ten thousand good double bridled gun-locks; two hundred thousand gun-flints; one thousand barrels of the best pistol powder; one thousand barrels of the best common powder; and for two fast-sailing, well-armed cutters, such as you may think best calculated for a good and safe passage to this country, and for making good cruisers on this coast afterwards. You are to make your contracts in writing; stipulate the prices, not to exceed the current rates for each article, and make it your business to be well informed on this point. We are sensible that it is difficult to extract arms and ammunition from many parts of Europe, and that penalties are inflicted on such as are detected in doing it; consequently a premium beyond the first cost and common commissions must be allowed to those that undertake it; and, in this respect we are rather at a loss how to limit you, being willing to allow what might be reasonable compensation, but unwilling to submit to extortion. However, as it is not in our power to judge of this point with precision, we exhort you to make the best bargain you can for the continent, and we conclude to allow you a commission of two and one-half per cent. on the amount of the invoice of the goods, and on the cost and outfit of the cutters; but you will observe this commission is the whole of what we are to pay you, being the only compensation you are to expect for transacting this business, and expect and hope it will afford you a very handsome reward for your services.

Our design is, to pay for those goods and cutters by remitting to the consignation of those that supply them cargoes of this country's produce, such as tobacco, rice, indigo, furs, skins, flour, lumber, iron, etc.; and we hereby pledge the thirteen United Colonies for the punctual discharge of the debt or debts you may contract, in virtue of and conformity with these orders. We agree to allow such rate of interest as you may agree for, not exceeding five per cent. on the amount of the debt or debts, from the time the goods are shipped until

payment is made, and this interest to cease on such partial payments as may be made from time to time. In confirmation of these orders, we deliver herewith a letter to your friend, Mr. Jean Wanderwoordt, attended with a certificate of our being a quorum of the Secret Committee, properly authorized to transact such business for the public, which you may avail yourself of with Mr. Wanderwoordt, or any other person necessary for effecting the purchase.

It is our understanding that the goods you contract are to be at the risk of the contractors until they are shipped on board, and bills of lading granted for them, after which they become our risk; and if the risk from that time until the ending of the voyage can be covered by insurance, at a premium not exceeding twenty per cent., we would wish to have such part insured as is to come from Europe direct out for this coast; the insurance to be against all risks whatever, at and from the shipping port to any place of delivery in the thirteen United Colonies of America.

When you have accomplished the business so far as to make the contracts and purchase cutters, you must cause to be shipped three thousand stand of arms, six hundred barrels of powder, three thousand gun-locks, and sixty thousand gun-flints, on board each cutter. Take bills of lading, deliverable to us in any part of the United American Colonies, and dispatch them for this coast. These cutters must be well armed and manned. You should procure, if possible, masters that are acquainted with the sea-coast of America, men of intelligent understanding and firm minds, well attached to the American cause; many such there are in Europe, pining to return and serve this country in the present glorious contest. You will also pick up as many American seamen as possible, and if sufficient of those do not offer, complete the number with the best you can get; and in fitting these vessels it will be well done to put on board each three or four tons of musket balls, suited to the bore of the ten thousand stand of arms. As the operations of our enemies are uncertain, it is hard for us to point out what part of the coast these cutters should push for. We believe the inlets between New York and Virginia may be as safe as any. They must get into the first place of safety they can, and give us immediate advice by express of their arrival; and by these vessels you will transmit us any public news, or any useful intelligence in your power. The remainder of the goods we think it most prudent to order out in foreign bottoms to some of the foreign Islands in the West Indies, where you can send for them with ease and tolerable security. You will consult with your friends what Island may be safest to make use of; and also obtain recommendation to a proper house for receiving and reshipping the goods, transmitting us the name and address by the cutters, and we shall send them funds to pay the freight and charges. Those goods going in neutral bottoms need only be insured against the common risks of the sea, etc.

We are, sir, etc., etc.

To Mr. William Hodge.

(Force's Archives, 4th Series, VI. 618.)

No. I.

COMMITTEE OF SECRET CORRESPONDENCE TO WILLIAM HODGE, JUN.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 3, 1776.

SIR : We deliver you herewith copies of the letters and credentials you had from us when you sailed on your late unfortunate voyage, the originals whereof we understand you destroyed on being taken by the "Orpheus" man-of-war. We have since that time taken other measures for procuring arms and ammunition, which probably may have succeeded; therefore we request you will lay those copies and this letter before Silas Deane, Esq., at Paris, and follow such advice and directions as he may give respecting arms and ammunition; but with respect to the cutters we approve much of that plan, and wish it to be executed and even enlarged. We therefore propose that you should consult with Mr. Deane and Mr. Thomas Morris on this subject, and if you find it will be in your power to procure seamen and obtain permission to arm and fit out vessels in France, Spain, or Holland, that you should, if possible, buy a frigate of twenty to forty guns, have her completely fitted, armed and manned, putting in a gentleman of unexceptionable good character, being also an able seaman, to command her, for which purpose we give you herewith a blank commission, to be filled up with his and the ship's name, which may be "Surprise." The Captain and you may appoint the officers necessary for this ship, giving to each a certificate showing his station.

When this ship is completed you must give orders to the Captain, signed by Mr. Deane, to cruise in the channel against the enemies of the United States of America, making prize of all British property as he can meet with. He may send his prizes into such ports in France as may be most convenient, and you will there demand protection for them, or rather let Mr. Deane demand this, and also liberty to make sale of such goods as he, Mr. Morris, and yourself may think best to sell there. Direct the Captain to take out any dry goods he finds on board his prize into his own ship, and when by this means he has got a considerable quantity on board, let him come away for this coast, and get into the first place of safety he can in the United States of America.

The Captain must, before he goes, give bond duly to observe all rules and regulations of Congress; and herewith we deliver you a blank bond, with a book of those rules, and a list of the Continental agents. Any prize that he sends into France you must send forward from thence to some of these states, unless Mr. Deane, Mr. Morris and yourself agree it is more for the publick good to sell in France; and if you sell them there apply the net proceeds to pay the debts you contract in this business.

Besides this ship, we approve also of the two cutters, as mentioned in our former letters. You may arm, fit and man them, and dispatch them hither as soon as possible, either with arms, ammunition, or such other goods as Mr. Deane and Mr. Morris may recommend or provide. We deliver you commissions, etc., for these vessels also, and recommend to you to be very attentive to

the choice of Captains. They should all be good seamen, men of good character and principles, strongly attached to this country and its cause; and prefer Americans, thus deserving to any other country. If such Americans are not to be found, seek for good men of other countries that have been here or have connexions among us. We know that there are many such in Europe that would be glad of the employ.

The ship must make but a short cruise in the Channel, and a short one will do the business, for she will daily meet prizes; but if she is long there, they will have men-of-war in quest of her. We hope you will meet with some fine, fast-sailing ship for this purpose, and be able to purchase and fit her on reasonable terms. We shall desire Mr. Deane and Mr. Morris to join you in the necessary assurances to those you deal with of being faithfully reimbursed. We again repeat that we shall make remittances in the produce of this country for that purpose. We shall also make you a proper compensation for your trouble and services hereafter, when they can be better ascertained. Therefore, wishing you success, we remain, sir, your humble servants.

To William Hodge, Jun.

P. S.—It is absolutely necessary that you observe the utmost secrecy in all this business, and make use of every cloak or cover you can think of to hide the real design.

(Force's Archives, 5th Series, II. 851.)

No. 2.

COMMITTEE OF SECRET CORRESPONDENCE TO WILLIAM HODGE, JUN.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 3, 1776.

SIR: We commit to your care sundry despatches delivered you herewith, and you are immediately to repair on board the sloop "Independence," John Young, commander, now waiting for you between this and Reedy Island. This sloop will carry you and said despatches, with the utmost expedition, to the Island of Martinico, where you must apply to Wm. Bingham, Esq., delivering to him all the letters and packages directed for him. This gentleman will assist in procuring you an immediate passage from thence to some port in France, on board a French vessel. Choose a good one if you have a choice, and a man-of-war or a packet, in preference to a merchantman. The General of Martinico will give you a letter to the commander of the port you sail for, requesting him to grant you a passport, and to expedite you immediately to Paris. On your arrival there, you must find out Silas Deane, Esq., and Mr. Thomas Morris, and deliver to each the letters and packages directed for them.

If you arrive at Nantz, apply to Mr. John Daniel Schweighauser; at Bordeaux, to Messrs. Samuel and John Hans Delap; at Havre de Grace, to Mr. Andrew Limozin; at Dunkirk, to Messrs. P. Stival & Son, in the name of Willing, Morris & Co., to furnish you with the address of Mr. Deane and Mr. Morris, at Paris, as it will be well known to them all, and they will also ren-

der you any other services you may stand in need of. Should you go to Paris without previously finding out the address of these gentlemen, apply to Messrs. ———, bankers in Paris, who can direct you to Mr. Deane.

The letters and packets directed for him and Thomas Morris you are to consider as despatches of the utmost importance. You must never suffer them to be out of your possession one moment until you deliver them safe, with untouched seals, to those two gentlemen, unless you should unfortunately be taken, and in that case you must throw them overboard, always keeping them ready slung with a weight to sink them if that measure should be necessary, and for your faithful discharge of this trust, you are answerable to your God, your country, and to us that have reposed this confidence in you.

We have desired Mr. Bingham to supply you with what money you want at Martinico, and to transmit us your receipts for the amount. Mr. Deane will supply you with any sum not exceeding one hundred and fifty pounds sterling in France. You will keep an account of your expences, which will be paid by the Congress, who will also compensate you hereafter generously for your time, trouble and risk, in this voyage. Should Mr. Deane think proper to send you immediately back with despatches for us, you will no doubt take charge of them and proceed according to his instructions.

Your must cautiously avoid letting any person whatever know what is your business, or that you have the least connection with publick business.

We wish you a safe and successful voyage, and are, sir, your obedient and humble servants.

To Mr. William Hodge, Jun.

(Force's Archives, 5th Series, II. 852.)

No. 3.

COMMITTEE OF SECRET CORRESPONDENCE TO THEIR COMMERCIAL HOUSES IN EUROPE.

PHILADELPHIA, October 3, 1776.

GENTLEMEN: The bearer hereof, Mr. William Hodge, Jun., is a young gentleman we esteem; he now goes for France, via the West Indies, and is uncertain at what port he may land. He has business with Silas Deane, Esq., and Mr. T. Morris; we beg, therefore, you will furnish him with their address, and render him any other service he may stand in need of. If he wants money for expences, please to advance it, and his draft on Mr. Deane will be honoured. Your compliance will oblige, gentlemen, your obedient, humble servants.

To Mr. John Daniel Schweighauser, at Nantz; Messrs. Samuel & J. H. Delap, at Bordeaux; Mr. Andrew Limozin, at Havre; Messrs. P. Steval & Son, at Dunkirk.

(Force's Archives, 5th Series, II. 853.)

WYOMING VALLEY MARRIAGES, 1850-1894.

BY REV. HENRY HUNTER WELLES, D. D.,
OF FORTY FORT, PA.

Communicated by Henry Hunter Welles, Jr.

- November 14, 1850, Pottsville, Pa. Rev. David D. Sander-
son, of Alabama, to Matilda, daughter of James M. Beatty.
- December 25, 1850, South Wilkes-Barre. Simon Jones (wid-
ower), of Scranton, to Mrs. Ellen Dickenson (widow) and
daughter of John Lazarus.
- January 16, 1851, Plymouth. Silas Lazarus (son of John), of
Kingston, to Mary Pierce (sister of James), of Plymouth.
- May 24, 1851, Kingston, at Mr. Ezra Hoyt's. Joseph Crowe to
Elsey Hunnewell.
- March 18, 1852, Kingston, at John Lazarus'. James Mont-
gomery Butler to Martha J. Lazarus.
- May 3, 1852, Wyalusing. George Maynard Bixby, of Roch-
ester, N. Y., to Jane Mary Welles, only daughter of
Charles F. and Ellen Welles.
- December 28, 1852, Plymouth, at Mr. Samuel French's. Ed-
ward Sterling Loop, of Wilkes-Barre, to Cornelia B. French,
of Plymouth.
- October 30, 1853, Kingston, at Mrs. Jane Seelye's. Rich-
ard Hutchins (widower) to Mrs. Elizabeth Bond (widow),
daughter of Mrs. Seelye.
- December 7, 1854, Kingston, at Dr. George Schott's. Charles
Swift (widower), of Scranton, to Emily H. Schott.
- (Same time and place.) J. Augustus Leas, of Nanticoke, to
Mrs. C. F. Wadhams (widow), daughter of Dr. George
Schott.
- September 25, 1855, Kingston, at Mrs. Bennet's. Henry Mar-
tyn Hoyt, Esq. (son of Ziba and Nancy Hoyt), to Mary
E. Loveland, daughter of Elijah and Mary Loveland.
- November 15, 1855, Kingston, at pastor's residence, Goodwin
house. Alexander Mason, of Bennington, Vt., to Mrs.
Elizabeth Smith, of Sharon, Schoharie county, N. Y.
- July 3, 1856, Dallas. George W. Kirkendall to Almira B. Sha-
ver, both of Dallas.

- January 29, 1857, at Pastor's house in Forty Fort. Richard Hutchins (widower), of Kingston, to Mrs. Elizabeth Hayes, of Wilkes-Barre.
- September 28, 1857, Kingston. Simeon Tucker, of Harford, Susquehanna county, to Mrs. Hannah S. Lonnergan, of Scranton.
- October 28, 1857, South Creek, Bradford county, Pa. William Welles, of Wyalusing, to Frances B. Smith, of South Creek.
- June 26, 1859, Kingston. Edward A. Comstock, of Wyoming, to Mary C. H. Dreisbach, of Exeter.
- July 3, 1860, Wyoming. Abraham V. Cool to Sarah J. Goodwin, of Wyoming.
- December 6, 1860, Kingston. David Davis, Jr., of Kingston, to Joanna George, of Plymouth.
- October 31, 1861, Wyoming. James D. Green to Fanny Schooley, eldest daughter of Chester Schooley.
- February 6, 1862, Forty Fort. Reuben Kibler, of White Haven, to Elizabeth Reed, of Forty Fort.
- June 3, 1862, Kingston. Ozro Mandeville to Anna Burke, both of Wilkes-Barre.
- November 11, 1862, Wilkes-Barre. George S. Richmond, of Philadelphia, to Mary F. Hutchins, of Kingston.
- December 23, 1862, Kingston. John C. Bound, of Tamaqua, to Frances A. Hunlock, of Kingston.
- January 3, 1863, Kingston. Valentine Hice, of Kingston, to Sarah E. Gruver, of Wilkes-Barre.
- March 26, 1863, Kingston. Abram H. Reynolds to Elizabeth S. Hoyt, both of Kingston.
- June 11, 1863, Kingston. Capt. Alfred Darte, 4th Penn'a Cavalry, to Caroline Sealy, of Kingston.
- June 17, 1863, Kingston. Leroy G. Babcock, Army of Potomac, to Malvina Henry, of Rockport.
- September 27, 1863, Kingston. Lieut. James Patton, Army of Potomac, to Frances A. Phoenix, of Monroe, Wyoming county, Pa.
- December 23, 1863, Wyoming. Jacob J. Shoemaker, son of Isaac, to M. Maggie Sharpe, daughter of John Sharpe, Jr.
- March 17, 1864, Forty Fort, at pastor's home. William Silverwood, of Kingston, to Mary Ann Labar, of Plymouth.

- April 28, 1864, Wyoming. John G. Stout, of Forty Fort, to Sidney J. Pollock, of Wyoming.
- May 4, 1864, Kingston. Steuben J. Polen, of Wyoming, to Lizzie Pockwell, of Wyoming.
- August 10, 1864, Kingston. Reuben Werkheiser, of Kingston, to Julia Casey, of Centremoreland.
- August 17, 1864, Kingston. Everett Harding, of Eaton, to Sarah Ann Myers, of Centremoreland.
- February 22, 1865, Plymouth. Hubbard B. Payne, of Kingston, to Elizabeth L. Smith, of Plymouth.
- May 30, 1865, Kingston. L. A. Smith, M. D., of New Milford, to Mary L. Hoyt, of Kingston.
- June 12, 1865, Forty Fort. At pastor's house, Calvin P. Bonham, of Mill Hollow, to Susanna A. Eyppar, of Dallas.
- July 3, 1865, Kingston. Peter M. Gilchrist to Kate E. Wright, both of Kingston.
- August 9, 1865, Plymouth. William L. Lance, Jr., to Emily C. French, both of Plymouth.
- August 15, 1865, Scranton. Smith Tuthill, of Brooklyn, N. Y., to Mary E. Crosby, formerly of Wilkes-Barre.
- September 3, 1865, Forty Fort. George W. Bryant to Laura Stroh, both of Forty Fort.
- December 21, 1865, Forty Fort, at pastor's home. George Reith, Jr., of Kingston, to Eliza Jane Labar, of Plymouth.
- December 21, 1865, Plymouth. Andrew R. Mathers, formerly of Mill Hollow, to Mary E. Renshaw, of Plymouth.
- December 25, 1865, Kingston. George Dietrick, of Carbon-dale, Pa., to Kate Renard, of Kingston.
- April 12, 1866, Forty Fort. Gerdon J. Shook to Jane A. Van Buskirk, both of Forty Fort.
- April 24, 1866, Forty Fort, at pastor's house. Joseph Mondau, of Philadelphia, to Debbie C. Eley, of Kingston.
- November 1, 1866, Forty Fort, at Joseph Knorr's. William H. Renard, of Wilkes-Barre, to Emma H. Dyke, late of Chester, England.
- December 5, 1866, Kingston. Stephen B. Vaughn to Marian Wallace Preston, both of Kingston.
- December 25, 1866, Kingston. Michael Laphy, of Mill Hollow, to Frances Ann Savits, of Kingston.

- February 5, 1867, Plymouth (or Larksville). Charles Lawson, late of Edinburgh, Scotland, to Harriet A. Snyder, of Plymouth.
- June 4, 1867, Forty Fort. Elias Jones, of Plains, to Julia Waltman, of Berwick.
- September 3, 1867, Forty Fort. Levi J. Stroh to Harriet Reese, both of Forty Fort.
- September 7, 1867, Kingston. Edward H. Cooke to Edith H. Parrish, both of Bowman's Creek, Wyoming county, Pa.
- September 19, 1867, Kingston. Charles J. Turpin, of Kingston, to Sarah A. Bryant, of Jackson, late of Forty Fort.
- September 30, 1867, Kingston. Milton T. Bailey, late of Jamestown, N. Y., to Clarissa J. Rice, of Kingston.
- October 7, 1867, Forty Fort. Sylvester A. Jones, of Wilkes-Barre, to Rebecca Heft, of Wyoming.
- October 31, 1867, Forty Fort. Charles M. Grenawalt to Catharine Aregood, both of Hanover, Luzerne county, Pa.
- November 24, 1867. Amos J. Hazletine, of Trucksville (Kingston) to Emma R. Girton, of Lake.
- December 10, 1867, Kingston. Isaac Rice to Mrs. Polly Payne.
- December 19, 1867, 6 a. m., at Almon Church's. Robert L. Laycock, of Wyoming, to Mary E. Church.
- April 28, 1868, Plymouth (Blindtown). James F. H. Eley, of Kingston, to Belle L., daughter of Garner Snyder, of Plymouth.
- May 26, 1868, Plains, at John Mitchell's. Thomas W. Court-right, of Ottawa, Ill., formerly of Plains, to Lizzie, daughter of John Mitchell.
- November 10, 1868, Kingston. John M. Culver to Anna S. Renard.
- November 30, 1868, Forty Fort, at David Reese's hotel, James E. Evans to Mrs. Gwinney Richards.
- December 15, 1868, Kingston, Mill Hollow. Addison J. Church to Deborah F. Raub.
- April 1, 1869, Kingston. Thomas Eley to Caroline Elizabeth, daughter of Frank N. Page.
- August 25, 1869, Mill Hollow, at Mr. Charles Mather's. James Orlando Mathers to Emma E. George, of Nanticoke, Pa.

- October 7, 1869, Kingston. James Hayward to Hannah J. Curtis.
- February 10, 1870, Kingston, at Miss Knapp's, Elias J. Lentz to Lizzie R. How, both of Wilkes-Barre.
- February 22, 1870, Forty Fort, at pastor's house. Samuel Reese Laphy, of Mill Hollow, to Ruth Ann Tucker, of Wilkes-Barre.
- April 22, 1870, Forty Fort, at pastor's house. James Mitchell McHelney, of Plymouth, to Sarah Ann Evans, of Scranton.
- September 3, 1870, Forty Fort, at Thomas Smith's, his son Charles Barron to Mary Elizabeth Matzenbocker, of Scranton.
- September 28, 1870, Wilkes-Barre. William Loughridge to Agnes M. Kessler, both of Wilkes-Barre.
- October 26, 1870, Lake House, Harvey's Lake. Tilghman H. Ash, of Wilkes-Barre, to Alice G. McDonald, foster daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Goucher.
- March 19, 1871, Forty Fort, at Pastor's house. John J. Morrison to Mrs. Caroline L. Sands, both of Kingston.
- May 10, 1871, Kingston, at Mrs. Ann Reith's. John Nicol to Margaret Cooper, both late of Echt, Aberdeenshire, Scotland.
- September 27, 1871, Forty Fort, at pastor's house, Frank R. Stone to Katy Bergold, both of Wilkes-Barre.
- January 24, 1872, West Dallas, at George Oliver's. John Miller, of Fairmount, to Susan Jane Oliver, daughter of G. W. Oliver.
- March 6, 1872, Forty Fort, at pastor's house. Thomas Davis, of Kingston, to Ellen, daughter of Peter Keller, of Plymouth.
- March 12, 1873, Dallas. Henry Hetfield, of Kingston, to Maggie Ferguson.
- May 1, 1873, Forty Fort, at pastor's house. Tidings D. Parks, of Plymouth, to Mrs. Amelia M. Snyder, daughter of Garner, and divorced from — Frantz.
- July 29, 1873, Kingston. Royal S. Adams to Lydia, daughter of Thomas Slocum.
- August 12, 1874, Mill Hollow, Kingston. William H. Shererd, of Wilkes-Barre, formerly of West Chester, to Ambrosia S., daughter of Charles Manville.

- October 22, 1874, Waverly (Abington), in Presbyterian Church. Jonathan Hall (Baptist) to Elizabeth L., daughter of Ruling Elder S. C. Whaling, of Abington Church.
- November 15, 1874, Waverly. Leonard Batchelor (Ruling Elder in Abington Church) to Mrs. Louisa Parker (widow).
- May 18, 1875, at Dewey Dershimer's, Newton township. Rev. Morton F. Trippe, of Augusta Centre, Oneida county, N. Y., to Sarah L., daughter of the late Rev. W. E. Holmes.
- November 23, 1875, Forty Fort, at pastor's house. Benjamin Reynolds, son of Dr. R. H. and Emily R. Tubbs, to our adopted daughter, Carrie Ladd Welles.
- December 16, 1875, Wilkes-Barre, at house of bride's parents. Harry M. Dickover to Lizzie Boettcher.
- December 25, 1875, Waverly. Byron O. Camp, Esq., of Montrose, to Ella L., eldest daughter of Miles W. Bliss.
- June 22, 1876, Kingston, at Widow Ann Reith's. Edward Franklin Payne to Elspit, only daughter of George and Ann Reith.
- July 26, 1876, Forty Fort, at pastor's house. Urial Almas Elston, of Trucksville, to Laura S. Banker, of Dallas.
- September 13, 1876, Forty Fort, at pastor's house. A. G. Riley, formerly of Dallas, to Clara Bisher, of Wilkes-Barre, formerly of Trucksville.
- March 22, 1877, Trucksville, at Mr. Elston's. Alfred H. Holcomb to Clara F. Elston.
- April 7, 1877, Wilkes-Barre, at Widow Patton's, 240 South Franklin street. John Borthwick (widower) to Lizzie White, formerly with Mrs. Fender.
- December 22, 1877, Forty Fort, at pastor's house. John Green Holmes, of Dushore, Sullivan county, to Lillie Morton, of Mill Hollow.
- March 13, 1878, Forty Fort, at pastor's house. James Coogan to Jennie Vanfossen of Newport.
- January 14, 1880, in Presbyterian Church, Kingston, assisted by Rev. W. C. Cattell, D. D., at 12 m., George B. Markle, Jr., to Clara Reynolds, second daughter of Dr. R. H. and Emily Tubbs.
- January 21, 1880, McKune's Station, Wyoming county, 6 A. M., Otis H. Loomis, of Meshoppen, to Lizzie S. McKune.
- February 26, 1880, Plains, at Philip Wintersteen's. John Wilson to Sarah, eldest daughter of Philip Wintersteen.

- August 10, 1880, Wilkes-Barre, First Presbyterian Church. William F. Pier, M. D., of Pleasant Valley, to Miss Nellie, daughter of Almon and Pamela Church.
- January 24, 1883, Plymouth. Palmer Campbell, of Hoboken, N. Y., son of William P. and Caroline Beers Campbell, of New Orleans, to Jeannette Eno, daughter of Josiah William Eno and his wife Louisa Brown Glassell.
- June 20, 1883, Mill Hollow. Charles R. Marcy, son of Reuben, to Addie Bell, second daughter of Samuel Raub.
- September 20, 1883, Forty Fort, at home. Charles N. Edwards to Lizzie Watkins, both of Luzerne borough.
- November 17, 1883, Forty Fort, at home. Alexander W. Sloan, of Luzerne borough, to Mrs. Malvina Phillips, of Forty Fort.
- June 26, 1884, Luzerne borough. Saron C. Welter to Agnes N. Hemmelright, both of Luzerne.
- July 5, 1884, Forty Fort, at home. Nelson C. Honeywell, of Wyoming, to Frances Naphus, of Luzerne borough.
- September 25, 1884, Forty Fort, at home. Henry Mandis Shirey, of Shenandoah, to Harriet I. Davis, of Forty Fort or Edmondston.
- September 27, 1885, Forty Fort, at home. James DeWitt Gray to Ellen Rebecca Dare, both of Kingston township, and in employ of W. L. Conyngham at Hillside farm.
- February 27, 1887, Forty Fort, at home, Sunday. Chester F. Nesbitt, of Larksville, to Jennie Lain, of Lehman.
- December 28, 1887, Clark's Green. William V. Good, of Waverly, Lackawanna county, to Isabella Courtright, eldest daughter of B. F. Courtright, of Clark's Green.
- April 5, 1888, Clark's Green. Granville F. Matlack, M. D., of Miner's Mills, to Clara R., second daughter of B. F. Courtright.
- May 2, 1888, Larksville. Albert E. Canfield, of Kingston, to Mary, daughter of James Pace.
- May 22, 1888, Trucksville. Andrew G. Raub, of Raubville, Luzerne borough, to Maud H., daughter of A. J. Baldwin, of Trucksville.
- June 13, 1888, Plymouth. John B. Rickard to Edith L. Major.

August 11, 1888, Forty Fort, at home. William Atherholt to Eva Gray, both of Pringleville, Pa.

October 3, 1888, Forty Fort, at home. Frank Kimble, of Plymouth, to Cora M. Vannetter, of Larksville.

December 6, 1888, Forty Fort, at Mrs. Thomas Smith's, her daughter, Florence Eva Smith, divorcee, to Robert B. Albertson, divorcee, of No. 40 Carey avenue, Wilkes-Barre.

November 7, 1889, Presbyterian Lecture Room, Kingston, by Episcopal service, James Goodman, of Luzerne, to Elizabeth Hobba, of Edwardsville, late of Stauston, England.

June 25, 1890, at the residence of C. I. A. Chapman, Port Blanchard, his daughter Elizabeth May to William H. Dean, of Wilkes-Barre.

October 5, 1890, Luzerne. John W. Fox and Clara Abbey, of Kingston.

October 29, 1890, Clearfield, Pa., at John F. Weaver's. Theodore L. Welles to Katharine Armstrong Weaver.

June 10, 1891, Luzerne. William Pace, of Larksville, to Effie, daughter of Samuel A. Morton.

May 18, 1893, Forty Fort. Theodore F. Snyder, of Trucksville, to Maggie F. Norris, of Kingston.

August 24, 1893, Forty Fort. John DeWitt, of Kingston, to Louisa Laphy, of Forty Fort.

June 21, 1894, Forty Fort. Arthur B. Clark, of Plains, to Ellen W. Laphy, of Forty Fort.

August 30, 1894, at Mrs. Fannie Boardman Welles, 325 Lake street, Elmira, N. Y., Grace Ellen Welles to Judge Orville R. Leonard, of Ogden, Utah.

OBITUARIES.

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MISS HANNAH PACKARD JAMES.

When a full, rounded-out life has been brought to its close, in its earthly home, it leaves with us its benediction, and this benediction surely rests upon all who knew Hannah Packard James, late librarian of the Osterhout Free Library of Wilkes-Barré, Pennsylvania. Her strong character, true instincts, noble ideals of life; her sympathetic and tender nature were deeply felt by all who knew her.

She passed on to her peaceful rest as beautifully as she had lived, leaving a never-to-be-forgotten memory and a noble monument of work well done.

Miss James was born in South Scituate, Massachusetts, September 5, 1835. She came of a long line of worthy ancestors. On her mother's side she was descended directly from John Alden. Her great-grandfather on the maternal side was Colonel Briggs Alden, who served in the French war, and her grandfather, Major Judah Alden, fought for American independence. Her father, William James, was a man of sterling qualities, being entrusted with settling estates; and many other matters of trust, requiring sound judgment and discretion, devolved upon him. He represented also his district in the Massachusetts legislature. Of such an ancestry she was the natural outcome, and her life and work have testified truly to such an inheritance. She was educated in the district school at South Scituate, and later in a private school formed at the instigation of herself and her schoolmates. During her girlhood she came under the influence of persons of superior intellect, who made their last-

ing impress upon her. Among the many associates of this
 was the Rev. Samuel J. May, a Christian minister of high
 social culture, and one whose whole life was devoted to
 deeds to his fellowmen, and with constant attention to a
 holy calling.

Miss James showed a fondness for books from early in her
 life, and has been known to say that she does not remem-
 ber when she was not craving a volume. She has ever re-
 fer that the work she has done should bear the
 fruit of her home. At an early age she left her
 early home had well to do. During
 the Civil War she was active in the Sanitary
 Commission, giving her time and work as only
 a public sympathizer could do. She always took a
 deep interest in church work, and the Church
 erected its present structure was sought by the
 members of the building.

When the Newton Free Library was founded in 1873, she
 began the work of organizing the books on her own
 land and acreage. She was very busy and very
 soon after it was organized. During those years
 she was very high
 standard. Her intelligence
 placed her very high in the profession. In
 1882 she went to England where she spent three months
 in study as well as in pleasure, for she had been a thorough
 student of architecture, especially of ecclesiastical architect-
 ure, and she expended the sum of a thousand dollars, given
 her by the trustees of the Newton Free Library, upon photo-
 graphs, which she selected there, giving much time and
 thought to the work. These photographs are now included
 in four volumes.

MISS HANNAH PACKARD JAMES.

Librarian of the Osterhout Free Library,

1887-1903.

descriptive notes. The volume
 is greatly enhanced by the illustrations of 150 pages
 done by members of her own family.

ing impress upon her. Among the most prominent of these was the Rev. Samuel J. May, a Unitarian minister of unusual culture, and one whose whole life was filled with loving deeds to his fellowmen, and with unselfish devotion to a holy calling.

Miss James showed a foundness for books very early in her life, and has been known to say that she could not remember when she was not making a catalogue. Is it any wonder that the work she chose in later years should bear the fruit it has borne? At the age of nineteen she left her early home and went to Newton, Massachusetts. During the Civil War she was an active worker on the Sanitary Commission, giving her whole mind to such work as only a noble, sympathetic soul could do. She always took a deep interest in church matters, and when Channing Church erected its present structure her advice was sought by the members of the building committee.

When the Newton Free Library was opened in 1870, she began the work that has won laurels for her in her own land and across the sea. She was made librarian of the library soon after it opened and remained there seventeen years. During those years she brought that library to a high standard. Her executive ability and keen intelligence placed her very soon at the height of her profession. In 1882 she went to England, where she spent three months in study as well as in pleasure, for she had been a thorough student of architecture, especially of ecclesiastical architecture, and she expended the sum of a thousand dollars, given her by the trustees of the Newton Free Library, upon photographs, which she selected there, giving much time and thought to the work. These photographs are now included in four volumes, elegantly bound, and having historical and descriptive notes by Miss James. The value of the volumes is greatly enhanced by beautifully illuminated title-pages done by members of her own family.

In 1887 she received a call from the Directors of the Osterhout Free Library of Wilkes-Barré, Pennsylvania, to become the librarian and form a library there. She accepted the call, and in August of that year she began the work which now stands as a monument of great thought and of noble work; and this institution now has its place in the front ranks in the library world. In the selection of the books she gave *herself* to it. The reference department, for one of its size, has attained the highest standard. Miss James made that standard high, and found that in so doing she had met the needs of her people. The department of art is very strong. Beside devoting the greater part of her time to the building up of a fine library, for which she was eminently fitted, she came in close relation with the people who frequented the library, personally giving her attention to their special needs, making all who needed help feel that she was not only their adviser, but also their friend. To the teachers and pupils of the Wilkes-Barré schools her loss will be very great. Her work with the schools has met with deep appreciation, and she gave it her personal attention. She gave an impetus to all seekers after good work, which would not fail to be lasting. Among the many who feel her loss so keenly, there are none who feel it more than the boys and girls who have known her; for they not only admired, but loved her. Miss James was an original worker, and much information has gone forth to the library world from her which cannot be fully measured, but which has helped to place her high in its ranks. Her loss to the library world is very great. She was beloved by all who knew her. She was an inspiration to all who loved the work and to those who asked her advice and counsel—they alone know what they received for the asking. To each one who came in contact with her, her personal interest, her deep and noble character, her kindly sympathy stand out as bright, particular stars.

Miss James manifested great interest in public affairs, and held positions in the Free Kindergarten Association, the United Charities, the Society of the Colonial Dames, and was a highly valued member of the Thursday Club, an art club of some years standing; besides giving time and thought to many other good works. She made an especial study of Dante, and was a member of a Dante class many winters. She attended St. Stephen's Episcopal Church when she first came to Wilkes-Barre, and later she became a member of it.

In 1897 she attended the International Conference of Librarians in London, and it seems but fitting to use the words of an earnest worker in the library cause, who has recently said of her, "I remember with especial pleasure how proud all of us had reason to be of an American woman who could talk to English men and women on formal as well as personal occasions, and make so strong and delightful an impression upon our kinfolk across the sea."

From 1891 to 1902 the Osterhout Library published *The Library News-Letter*, a monthly bulletin containing the latest additions of books, and in this bulletin appeared many articles contributed by Miss James, which clearly showed her literary ability. *The News-Letter* has been succeeded by a monthly bulletin containing lists of books only.

Her relations with the Board of Directors of the Library deserve especial mention. She regarded each member as a personal friend, and the harmony and good will existing between them gave Miss James the assurance of their entire confidence, and this inspired her to the best work of which she was capable. On several occasions Miss James was called upon to lecture before the Library Schools, and at such times she appeared at her best, as pupils of the schools can testify, knowing as they did how much inspiration they obtained from the earnest and delightful manner with which she presented her subjects.

She has left us in the fullness of her life, and during the months of her recent illness, only those whose pleasure and comfort it was to minister to her can know fully how bravely she met and accepted the close confinement; the courage and patient endurance that were shown through each and every day; the words of cheer that never failed her, and the daily manifestations of the beauty of a nature which stood out so grandly for the truth. The peace that was hers she has left to all who knew her, as her final expression of love and good will. She died April 20, 1903.

A short service was held at her home in Dorranceton Wednesday afternoon, April 22, conducted by Rev. John P. Forbes of Brooklyn and Rev. Dr. Francis B. Hodge of Wilkes-Barré, and attended by her relatives and immediate friends. This was followed by a second service at St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, Wilkes-Barré, conducted by Rev. Dr. Henry L. Jones and Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden. The burial took place at South Scituate, now Norwell, Massachusetts, Friday, April 24, the service being conducted by Rev. Edward A. Horton of Boston, a friend of long standing, who knew and appreciated fully the sterling qualities of such a woman as Miss James.

Miss James was elected a member of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society February 11, 1892, and served the Society as a member of the Publishing Committee from February 11, 1899, until her death.

MYRA POLAND.

REV. HENRY HUNTER WELLES, D. D.

Dr. Welles was born Wyalusing, Pennsylvania, September 15, 1824, and died at his home, Forty Fort, Pennsylvania, September 24, 1902, having just completed his seventy-eighth year.

He was the third son of Charles Fisher Welles, of Wya-

lusing, and his wife, Eleanor Jones Hollenback, daughter of Colonel Matthias Hollenback (of John², George¹), who was so prominently connected with the early history of Wyoming Valley, not only as an Ensign in the Continental Army from 1775 to 1778, a survivor of the Massacre of Wyoming, July 3, 1778, and later a Lieutenant Colonel in the Pennsylvania Militia, but also as a pioneer merchant and citizen to whose enterprise, energy and remarkable business success the county of Luzerne is to-day so largely indebted.

On the paternal side Dr. Welles descended from Governor Thomas Welles of Connecticut, 1598-1660, the first Treasurer of the Colony, 1639; Secretary of Connecticut, 1640-1648; Lieutenant Governor, 1654-6-7-9, and the fourth Governor of Connecticut, 1658-1660, thus Henry Hunter⁸—Colonel Charles Fisher⁷—George⁶—John⁵—Hon. Thomas⁴, Assistant of Connecticut, 1757-1760—Captain Samuel³—Samuel²—Governor Thomas.¹

Dr. Welles also numbered among his ancestors others of prominence, viz.: William Pitkin, Chief Justice of Connecticut, 1713-1733, Assistant twenty-six years; Colonel Eleazer Talcott, Colonel Sixth Connecticut Regiment, 1771-1776, who also descended from William Pynchon and Elizur Holyoke. Through his great-grandmother, Jerusha Edwards, wife of John Welles, he was connected with the family of Jonathan and Timothy Edwards, &c.

Dr. Welles was educated at the College of New Jersey, where, entering the Sophomore class, he graduated A. B. 1844, M. A. 1847. Among his classmates were such men as Rev. Charles W. Shields, S. T. D., LL. D., James C. Welling, LL. D., Hon. James D. Strawbridge, and Governor Alfred H. Colquitt of Georgia. He was a member of the Clisophic Society of Princeton. After his graduation he studied Theology, 1846-1847, at Princeton Theological Seminary, where he had the privilege of being under "those

incomparable teachers of Sacred Science, Rev. Drs. A. A. Alexander, Samuel Miller, Charles Hodge, and J. Addison Alexander."

He was licensed to preach by the Susquehanna Presbytery August 29, 1850, and became Stated Supply of the Church at Kingston, Pa., where he was ordained and installed as pastor of that Church June 12, 1851, by the Presbytery of Luzerne, serving this people for twenty years, until 1871. He then resigned the pastoral charge, but without relieving himself from duty whenever his physical strength permitted. In 1887 he organized a Sunday-school at Forty Fort, which in 1895 had grown into a very successful work, including a church building and parsonage. In 1870, when the Presbytery of Lackawanna was organized, he was made its first stated clerk, holding the office until 1877. In 1894 Lafayette College conferred upon Dr. Welles the honorary Degree of Doctor of Divinity, which he always wore with great modesty. He married, October 12, 1849, Ellen Susanna Ladd, daughter of General Samuel Greenleaf Ladd, of Hallowell, Maine, and his wife Caroline D. Vinal; son of Dudley Ladd and his wife Bethia Hutchins, the daughter of Lieutenant Colonel Gordon Hutchins, Captain First New Hampshire Regiment 1775, serving in the battle of Bunker's Hill; Lieutenant Colonel Second New Hampshire Regiment 1776, and member New Hampshire Provisional Congress 1776-1777. Mrs. Welles died January 25, 1895. They left three children—Henry Hunter, Jr., Theodore Ladd and Charlotte Rose.

Dr. Welles was President of the Alumni Association of Princeton Theological Seminary 1879-80, Trustee of Lincoln University, Chester county, Pa., 1879-1894, and a member of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society from October, 1895, until his death.

The following beautiful tribute to his memory from the pen of Rev. Nathan Grier Parke, D. D., so fully and accu-

rately portrays his character, that it is most appropriately recorded here :

"I first met Rev. Dr. Welles at Princeton, N. J., in the class room of Professor Henry, in 1844, shortly before his graduation from Princeton College. I next met him just after he received and accepted a call to the pastorate of the Presbyterian Church of Kingston, Pa., to succeed Rev. Dr. I. I. Porter. Since his installation in that church his home has been in Wyoming Valley. Here he has done his life work that abides and will abide. For more than half a century he has been my neighbor, co-presbyter and fellow laborer in our Master's vineyard ; and through all these years of our association I have been impressed by his quiet, conscientious, faithful Christian life. Like the life of McCheyne, his life was 'an inspiration' to all his brethren who labored with him.

"Rev. Dr. Welles was in the truest and best sense of that term a gentleman—a gentle man. There was an absence of coarseness in his nature, and a charming simplicity, and naturalness, and guilelessness in his manner that, coupled with a loving, sympathetic spirit, won the hearts of all who associated with him and made him an idol in his home. Of him it might with truth be said that those things which he had learned and received and heard and seen in his Divine Master he sought to illustrate in his life—as truth, honesty, purity, humility and love.

"His health failed while a student in the Theological Seminary, and it was not firm through life. This interfered somewhat with his studies. He had a bright mind that had been carefully trained in his home and in the best schools ; and his profession was in the line of his tastes. His preaching was thoughtful, scriptural, earnest, and always eminently evangelical. In the pulpit, in his pastoral work, and in his life, like the disciples on the Mount of Transfiguration, he saw 'Jesus only.'

"A marked feature of Rev. Dr. Welles's character was his unselfishness. He never sought great things for himself. Among the disciples of our Lord while He was on earth there was a type of ambition that led them to ask who shall be greatest in the kingdom of heaven. It was not discoverable in this dear brother, whose delight, apparently, was to minister rather than to be ministered unto.

"Personally, Rev. Dr. Welles was not lacking in worldly wisdom. He possessed business talent, and wisely and well cared for his family and for all temporal interests committed to his care. He was posted and deeply interested in the affairs of his church and the country, but he kept steadily before him until the end of his life the fact that the gospel he was called to preach 'was the power unto salvation to every one that believeth, to the Jew first and also to the Greek.'"

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN,
Historiographer.

MEMBERS DECEASED SINCE ISSUE OF VOLUME VII.

LIFE.

- MISS MARTHA BENNET, died June 27, 1903.
 REV. NATHAN GRIER PARKE, D. D., died June 28, 1903.
 HON. CHARLES ABBOTT MINER, died July 25, 1903.
 MRS. PRISCILLA LEE BENNETT, died September 25, 1903.

Obituaries of these will appear in Volume IX.

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METEOROLOGIST.

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Abram Waltham.
Mrs. Margaret (Lacoe) White.
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 Hon. Charles Tubbs
 Samuel French Wadham
 Maj. Harry P. Ward
 Abram Whitman
 Mrs. Margaret (Lacey) White
 William A. Wilcox

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By payment of \$100.

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*Miss Emily Isabella Alexander.	Frederick M. Kirby.
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Samuel LeRoi Brown.	*William Loveland.
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